A

HISTORY OF CEYLON

FOR SCHOOLS

BY

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PREFACE.

THE early periods of the history of Ceylon—up to the Portuguese Settlement—have been treated in these pages with greater fulness than is usual in a school-book intended for young children. But an attempt has been made to render the story interesting.

The dates at the foot of each page are designed to assist the teacher and any "general reader" who may wish to follow the current of European history while studying the course of events in Ceylon.

The authorities I have been able to consult are:—Turnour and Wijesinha's *Mahavansa*; Tennent's *Ceylon*, Knighton's *Ceylon*, Dr. Copleston's *Buddhism*, and (for the later British period) Ferguson's *Directory*. Apart from these, my notes from local newspapers and magazines have been of most use. I desire to acknowledge very gratefully also the help given me, in different ways, by Mr. Samuel de Saram of Colombo and Mr. Ernest H. Spencer of Kingswood, Kandy; and by Mr. E. D. W. Siebel who has compiled the useful Index at the end of the book.

But in preparing this book nothing has struck me more than the wonderful industry, skill, and patience displayed in the volume which this is

intended to replace. In spite of many disadvantages it has for some fifty years "held the field." And if this new History succeeds in reaching to something of the usefulness of the old, it will have fulfilled its purpose.

L. E. B.

Kandy, 3rd Nov. 1899.

Errata.

The correct spelling of the names of Sinhalese Kings is given in the Tables on pp. 41, 68, 95 and 170. On page 3 line 10 for 50° read 5°; p. 19 line 11 for *buried* read *burned*; p. 26 for *came* read *come*; on pp. 22, 24 and 25 for *Kalunna* read *Karanna*; p. 24 line 5 for *called* read *could*; p. 26 for *Dighajantu* read *Dighajattu*: p. 30 for *B. C. 22* read *B. C. 20*; on pp. 39 and 45 for *Jaytawanaramu* read *Jetavanarama*; p. 46 line 1 for *these were arts* read *these arts were*; p. 47 for *Sarrathasanghaka* read *Sararthe-sangraha*; p. 103 last line for *Sinhalese* read *Portuguese*.

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A HISTORY OF CEYLON.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

THE object of this little book is to tell in simple language the story of Ceylon:—of its fame in early times and of the people who, so far as we know, first lived in it; of its conquest by the Sinhalese, the Portuguese, and the Dutch in turn; and of how it came to be, as it is now, under British rule. It is necessary that we should have some knowledge of these matters, for Ceylon is the land in which we live, and to nearly all of us it is our native country.

But even apart from this, the history of Ceylon is full of interest. No island in the world has been so long famous, and famous among so many different nations. It is the sacred land of three religions. The Hindus reverence it as the place where Rama, one of their princes, and afterwards worshipped as one of their gods, fought to get back his bride who had been

cruelly carried away. The Muhammadans declare that when Adam and Eve were driven from Paradise, Ceylon was given to console them for their loss. The Buddhists regard it as the centre of their faith, the land which Buddha loved, which he is said to have thrice visited. The fertility of its soil, the loveliness of its scenery, its delightful climate, its valuable commercial products, the wealth that lay hidden in the heart of its mountains and in the sands of its rivers,—all these advantages united to give the land a strange, irresistible charm that was felt by every traveller who was so fortunate as to visit its shores. To the Brahman this land was "Lanka," the shining land; to the Indian Buddhist, the "pearl upon the brow of India"; to the Chinese, the "island of Jewels;" to the Greek and the Persian, the "land of the Hyacinth and the Ruby"; to the Sinhalese, the "island of the Lion-race"; to the modern European, the "Eden of the Eastern Wave."

It was first known in Europe as *Taprobane*, a name which the English poet, Milton, has preserved in his great poem. In Arabic writings it is spoken of as *Serendib*. And this is how the island was described three centuries ago:—"The heavens with their dews, the air with a pleasant wholesomeness and fragrant freshness, the waters in their many rivers and fountains, the earth diversified in aspiring hills, lowly vales, equal and indifferent plains, filled in her inward chambers with metals and jewels, in her outward court and upper face stored with whole woods of the best cinnamon that the sun seeth; besides fruits, oranges, lemons, &c., surmounting those of Spain; fowls and beasts both tame and wild (among which is their elephant honoured by a natural acknowledgement of excellence of all

other elephants in the world): these all have conspired and joined in common league to present unto Zeilan the chief of wordly treasures and pleasures, with a long and healthful life in the inhabitants to enjoy them."

This, then, is the land whose history we are now to study. Its place is in the Indian Ocean, to the South-east of India, almost midway between the Red Sea on the West and the Straits of Malacca on the East. It lies between 50°56′ and 9°50′ North Latitude, and between 80°4′ and 82° East Longitude. A look at the map of Asia will show how natural it would be that ships from Arabia or Persia on the one hand, and from China or Burma on the other, should touch at Ceylon. The frequent visits of these ships would make the island well known to sailors and a central market for traders in the eastern seas. Ships, too, from the Cape of Good Hope would call at Galle or Colombo, and now that steamers pass to and from Australia, the trade of the island has become very important.

In size Ceylon is not large. Its area is 25,333 square miles. England is twice as large, and India sixty one times larger. Its greatest length from North to South is 271½ miles; its greatest breadth, 137½ miles; its circumference, about 760 miles.

For the earliest mention of Ceylon in books we must turn to an Indian poem called the *Ramayana*, written by a poet named Valmiki. This poem is about events said to have taken place at least three thousand years ago, and cannot, of course, be considered a record of actual facts. The story may be summed up in a few words. Rama, the eldest son of the king of Ayodhya (now called Oude) had won the beautiful

princess, Sita, for his bride; but while wandering in the forests of Central India (to which the pair had been banished), Sita was captured and carried away to Lanka by Ravana, the demon king of that country Rama collected a large army to get back his bride. He was assisted by the king of the Vultures and the king of the Monkeys, that is, as we may understand it, by various native tribes in Southern India. Hanuman, the chief general of the monkeys, is said to have built the ridge, now called Adam's Bridge, to allow a passage for Rama's army. After a siege of twelve years, Lankapura, Ravana's capital, was taken and burnt, the demon king himself slain, and Sita brought back in triumph. The main fact we may gather from this narrative is that very long ago Ceylon was successfully invaded by an Indian army.

CHAPTER II.

Vijaya. (B.C. 543—505.)

THE history of Ceylon may be said to begin with the arrival of Vijaya in the island. According to the Sinhalese historians this event took place on the very day of Buddha's death, and the year B.C. 543 is usually given as the date of both occurrences. But those who have looked into these matters carefully are of opinion that this date is too early, and that Buddha's death took place about B.C. 477.

Vijaya was the eldest son of Sihabahu, the king of Lala, a district of Magadha in Northern India. The mother of Sihabahu was a princess of Wanga (Bengal).

She is said to have married a lion. This means, perhaps, that she married a man of low birth, whose name was *Siha* or *Siṇha*, i.e. *lion*. In Sihapura, the capital of Lala, Vijaya became the leader of a band of lawless men who committed numberless acts of fraud and violence. The people complained of this to the king who on two occasions severely censured his son. But when these acts of oppression were still continued, the people angrily demanded that Vijaya should be put to death. The king then resolved on banishing the offenders. Vijaya and seven hundred of his followers were placed on board a large ship and sent adrift. In another vessel the king sent away the wives of these men, and in a third vessel their children. The men, women, and children, drifting in different directions, landed and settled in different countries. Vijaya landed at first at a port on the east coast of India, but fearing lest the people there should be roused against him by the lawless deeds of his followers, he re-embarked and came on to Ceylon. 543 B.C.

The Island was at this time inhabited by a race about whom very little indeed is known. They may have come originally from the neighbouring coast of Southern India, but they were much less civilized and powerful than the the invaders, who easily overcame the feeble resistance made. The conquerors gave these people the names of *Yakkhas* (demons) and *Nagas* (snakes), either in contempt, or because the conquered races worshipped demons and snakes, or perhaps for both reasons. The Yakkhas lived in the central portions of the island, and had a capital named Lankapura. The Nagas lived in the northern aad western districts, and gave the name *Nagadipa* (the Isle of

Serpents) to the whole of their possessions. There was a Naga king of Kelaniya, and there were two others —mountain-Nagas they are called—who once fought for the right to a gem-set throne.

Among these people Vijaya and his seven hundred followers came. They landed at a point on the north-western coast, near to where Puttalam now stands. Weary and faint after their long voyage they came out of their ship, and threw themselves on the welcome beach. It is said that they found the palms of their hands were stained by the soil on which they had rested and hence they gave the name *Tambapanni* (copper-coloured) to the place. This name was afterwards given to the whole island, and from it is derived the word *Taprobane* used by Greek writers.

Shortly after the invaders landed one of them saw a dog and followed it into the country. "Where there are dogs," thought he, "there must be a village also." Instead of a village, however, he came to a tank by which what appeared to be a devotee was seated, spinning thread. The sight encouraged him to bathe in the tank and to collect for food some of the roots that grew in it. But while he was thus occupied, the devotee (who was really a Yakkha princess, named Kuveni,) started up, seized the astonished man, and flung him into a cave. One by one the followers of Vijaya were in this way imprisoned, till Vijaya himself came to the place. Seeing that all the footprints led into the tank and none out of it, he suspected that the Yakkhini had kept the men there. In his rage he caught her by the throat and would have slain her but that she instantly submitted and restored his followers to him. Vijaya afterwards took Kuveni for his wife and by her aid

gradually acquired control over the country round about. The neigbouring Yakkha chiefs were subdued, and a capital, named Tamana Nuwera, was built a few miles east of Puttalam.

Vijaya was now in fact, if not in name, the chief ruler of the Island. We may therefore now begin to speak of him and his followers as the *Sinhalese*, the lion-race; for it will be remembered that Vijaya's father was Sihabahu or Sinhabahu. The island itself afterwards took the conqueror's name; it was called *Sinhala dwipa*, from which were formed the various names *Serendiwa*, *Serendib*, *Zeilan*, *Ceylan*, and lastly *Ceylon*.

It took many years before the native Yakkhas and Nagas were finally subdued, and we shall sometimes find them mentioned in our history as having chiefs, cities, and armies of their own. Vijaya's followers established themselves in various parts of the country, forming petty chieftaincies over which they ruled. One of them went north and settled where Anuradhapura now stands. Another went farther north and founded the settlement of Upatissa. A third founded Vijitapura on the east. Then these chiefs decided that it was time their leader took upon himself the rank and office of a king. But Vijaya refused to do this until he obtained a queen of his own rank. Thereupon the chiefs sent an embassy to Madura (the capital of the kingdom of Pandya in Southern India) to ask for the King's daughter to be Vijaya's queen. The request was readily granted, and seven hundred daughters of the principal nobles accompanied the princess to Ceylon. The princess married king Vijaya, whose "inauguration," or coronation, was then celebrated with great splendour; and the seven hundred

other ladies were bestowed on the king's ministers "according to their grades or castes." This is the first time castes are mentioned in Sinhalese history, though the caste system must have come with Vijaya to Ceylon.

But what of Kuveni—the Yakkha princess who had been Vijaya's wife till now, who had borne him two children (a son and a daughter), and with whose assistance he had made himself master of the country? She was put away by Vijaya, who made a strange excuse for doing so. "A daughter of royalty," said he, meaning the Indian princess, "is a timid being. Leave thy children, therefore, and depart from my house." "But whither shall I go?" pleaded Kuveni; "on thy account I fought against and killed mine own people. Now I dread their revenge; and thou too discardest me. Whither shall I go?" Vijaya offered to provide a place for her within his own dominions; but the broken-hearted woman indignantly refused the offer, and with her children sought to rejoin her tribe. They, of course, put her to death, and the children saved themselves by flight. They fled to the neighbourhood of Adam's Peak, and under the protection of the king founded a numerous race. The people called Veddahs are generally supposed to be their descendants.

For thirty-eight years (B.C. 543—505) Vijaya reigned over Ceylon. Nothing of importance took place after his coronation. Towards the end of his reign he was troubled with anxiety as to who should succeed him—for his Indian queen bore him no son. He resolved to invite Sumitta, one of his brothers, from Sihapura. A letter was accordingly sent; but long before the letter reached its destination,

505 B.C.

Vijaya departed this life and "went to the world of the devas."

CHAPTER III.

From Vijaya's death to Mutasiwa.
(B.C. 505-307.)

UPATISSA, the leading chief among the Sinhalese, now took up the government, and reigned for one year, during which he made his own city, Upatissa Nuwera, the capital. When Vijaya's letter reached Sihapura, Sumitta had already succeeded his father as a king of that country. As he could not come himself, he sent Panduwasa, the youngest of his three sons, to rule over the new kingdom that Vijaya had won; and on his arrival at Upatissa Newera the government was at once given up to him.

Panduwasa's reign dates from B.C. 504. He, like his uncle, Vijaya, married an Indian princess, and the queen was a relative of Gautama Buddha. Six of her brothers afterwards came to Ceylon, and distributed themselves over the country, forming settlements from which they took, or to which they gave their names. Thus we find *Ramagona*, *Rohana*, *Dighaya*, *Uruvela*, *Anuradha*, and *Vijitagama*. In Anuradha's settlement the king Panduwasa caused a great tank to be built. This was the Abayawewa tank, the first about which there is any record. It was about this time also that the island was divided into three great provinces, the names and boundaries of which were:—

I. *Pihiti* or *Rajaratta*—all the country north of the Mahavili Ganga and the Deduru Oya.

II. *Mayaratta*—bounded on the north by the Deduru Oya ; east by the Mahavili Ganga; south by the Kalu Ganga ; west by the sea.

III. *Rohana*—All the country south of the Mahavili Ganga and the Kalu Ganga. It included the mountain region of Ceylon.

After a reign of thirty years Panduwasa died, and was succeded by Abhaya, the eldest of his ten sons. Abhaya appears to have been a weak and indulgent ruler, and his reign is noted only for a rebellion caused by his nephew Pandukabhaya. It had been foretold that Pandukabhaya would kill his uncles and usurp the kingdom. His uncles, therefore, sought to put him to death, but he escaped, and lived with a wealthy Brahman who taught him every accomplishment necessary for a king, and in the end provided him with money and troops. Collecting a large force he took up a strong position near the Mahavili Ganga, and for some years resisted all the efforts of his uncles to dislodge him. When king Abhaya heard of his nephew's success, he sent a letter to the prince secretly conferring on him the rule of all the country south of the river. This was really dividing the sovereignty of Ceylon with Pandukabhaya. The king's brothers were naturally very angry when they heard of this. They dethroned Abhaya (who had now reigned twenty years) and set up Tissa, one of themselves, to rule in his place.

ABHAYA
474
B.C.

There was now no king in Ceylon acknowledged by all the Sinhalese as supreme. For seventeen years (B.C. 454-437) the war lasted between Pandukabhaya and his eight uncles—for, of the ten, Abhaya and another were friendly to him. Pandukabhaya at last called in the aid of a Yakkha tribe, and many more of his own people gradually joined him. With this army he occupied the Arittha mountain (Rittagalla) and when his uncles came up, fell upon them vigorously, slew them, and dispersed their forces.

INTERREGNUM 454-437 B.C.

437 B.C.

Pandukabhaya was thirty seven years old when he gained possession of the throne. He spared the lives of the two uncles who had befriended him. To them and to the son of the Brahman who had sheltered him, he gave offices of great trust and responsibility. The Yakkhas who had fought for him were treated with great consideration and were assigned quarters in and about the capital. He even ordered that offerings should be provided annually for the gods worshipped by the Yakkhas. Indeed, the king was very indulgent in matters of religion ; he "provided a residence for five hundred persons of various foreign religious faiths."

Up to this time Upatissa Nuwera had been the capital of the Sinhalese kings. Pandukabhaya preferred Anuradhapura. He removed to that place, and made the city worthy of a king's capital, which it was for more than a thousand years after. Two great tanks, the *Jayawewa* and the *Gaminiwewa*, were made by the king's orders. Four suburbs were added to the city, a cemetery and "a place of execution and tor

ture" were constructed, and arrangements were made for keeping the city clean and healthy by wise sanitary measures. In the twelfth year of his reign (*i.e.* B.C. 425) the king "fixed the boundaries of the villages in all parts of Lanka." His entire reign extended to seventy years.

Mutasiwa, the son of Pandukabhaya, succeeded to
the throne, and is said to have reigned for 367
sixty years.* His reign was one of unbroken B.C.
peace, and the only act recorded of him is that he built the famous pleasure garden at Anuradhapura. It was named *Mahamegha* from a heavy fall of rain which took place when the garden was being laid out. We shall hear of this garden again presently.

The king died B.C. 307, and was succeeded by his
307 son Tissa, in whose reign a great change was
B.C. made in the religion of the people.

CHAPTER IV.

Buddha and Buddhism.

SOME years before the landing of Vijaya in Ceylon, a king of the Sakya race reigned at Kapilavastu, a town in North India, in the district now known as

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* According to the Sinhalese historians Pandukabhaya must have been 107 years old when he died: for he was 37 years old when he began to reign and he reigned 70 years. Mutasiwa succeeds and reigns 60 years. There is a difficulty in allowing two such long reigns in succession. One writer suggests that there was a reign between the two reign in question, thus:—

Pandukhabhaya.......................70 years
Ganatissa (son of P.)...............13 „
Mutasiwa (son of G.)................47 „

Oude. This king had a son named Siddartha, a youth of a quiet and reserved disposition. He was brought up in all princely accomplishments and was happily married. In his twenty ninth year, however, he renounced all pleasures, comforts, and worldly honours, and gave himself up entirely to religious meditation. What troubled the prince most was that there existed around him so much pain and suffering that could not be relieved. For six years he wandered from place to place, and sought in various ways to find a remedy. He followed the directions of priests and religious teachers, he studied different creeds, he lived a hermit's life of loneliness and self-denial, he suffered penances, but all in vain. At last it seemed to him that the remedy was found. Unsatisfied desire was the cause of pain: every man should therefore seek to get rid of desire. When desire is extinguished, there would be deliverance from suffering. This was the chief doctrine of the new creed, and round it clustered other doctrines, all collectively known as the teaching of Buddhism.

Gautama—the prince is often so named from the tribe or class to which he belonged—had now become the *Buddha*, the enlightened one. For forty five years he preached his doctrines, and a great part of Northern India adopted the new Buddhist creed. During these years Buddha is said to have visited Ceylon three times, knowing "that Lanka would be the place where his religion would be most glorified." His first appearance was at Bintenne, on the battle field of the Yakkhas, whom he terrified with rains, tempests, and darkness. The second visit was in the fifth year of his buddhahood to settle a dispute regarding a gem-set

throne which two Naga kings claimed. The third visit was three years later. The Naga king of Kelaniya invited him to come over and preach Buddhism. Besides doing this, Buddha is said to have left the impression of his foot on Adam's Peak, and to have visited the site Anuradhapura.

After Buddha's death (B.C. 543-477) three great Convocations or Councils were held in India. The first was at Rajagaha, the capital of Magadha, in the year after Buddha's death. But the spread of Buddhism brought with it unavoidable difficulties. A number of sects arose, and doctrines different from those preached by Buddha were being widely taught. To settle the points in dispute, to decide clearly what were true Buddhist doctrines and what were not, the second convocation was called. It was held about one hundred years after the first convocation.

Meanwhile, a king known sometimes as Asoka (the sorrowless), and sometimes as Piyadasi (the beholder of delight), and referred to in the Sinhalese writings as Dhammasoka (Asoka the righteous), became a convert to Buddhism. He was the ruler of Magadha, but in a short time he had extended his empire throughout the whole of Northern India. He was a devoted follower of Buddha, a zealous believer anxious to spread the faith everywhere. Buddhism became the state religion. Jambudipa glittered with yellow robes. In the seventeenth year of his reign and the third century after Buddha's death, a third convocation was held for the same purpose as the second, to settle disputed doctrines. But the third convocation did something more : it decided to send preachers of Buddhism to foreign countries, and one country chosen

for this purpose was Lanka. For Lanka, indeed, one of the greatest of Buddhist teachers was set apart, Mahinda, the son of Asoka. He with other four leading disciples were waiting for a suitable opportunity to take Buddhism into Ceylon.

CHAPTER V.

Devanampiya Tissa. (B.C. 307-267.)

WE must now return to the kings of Ceylon. When Tissa became king great wonders are said to have occurred. Precious metals and gems that had lain buried in the earth now rose to the surface. Treasures from ships wrecked round the coast, and pearls from the depths of the sea cast themselves upon the shore. Near Anuradhapura three graceful bamboos rose from the soil, showing, on one beautiful golden creepers, on another full-blown flowers of various hues, on the third, birds and beasts of divers colours. The priests who wrote Tissa's history mention all this because the king was always the friend and patron of the Buddhist priesthood. Indeed, the king is spoken of by them as *Devanampiya Tissa*, Tissa the delight of the gods.

In some way or other, Tissa and the great Asoka of India, though the two kings never met, were friends of long standing. Tissa resolved to strengthen this friendship by sending an embassy with rich presents to Asoka. The presents included "the three kinds of gems, the three royal chariot poles, a chank with the whorls to the right, and eight descriptions of

pearls." We must bear in mind that the Sinhalese were at this time Brahmans in religion. Vijaya was a Brahman; and at the head of Tissa's embassy was the king's nephew, Maha Arittha, who is described as "a Brahman of the Hali mountain." From Anuradhapura the embassy went northwards, embarked at a port near where Jaffna now stands, and in seven days reached Pataliputta (now called Patna) where they delivered the presents to Asoka. That monarch was very pleased with the rich gifts brought to him. He conferred high honours on the leaders of the embassy, and sent them back with ambassadors from himself, bearing valuable gifts. Among these gifts were water from the Ganges and other articles necessary for the anointing and inaugurating of a king. Nor did Asoka miss this opportunity of advancing the religion which he followed so earnestly. A "gift of pious advice" was added to the sword and crown and other substantial presents to Tissa. "I" said Asoka to the king of Lanka, "have taken refuge in Buddha, his religion, and his priesthood. Ruler of men, imbue thy mind with the conviction of the truth of these supreme blessings, and with unfeigned faith do thou also take refuge in this salvation."

Now Tissa had been already "inaugurated," or crowned king, and he is always spoken of as the "ally" of Asoka, as Asoka's equal in rank, not his inferior. But Asoka claimed to be king of Ceylon as well as of vast regions in India; and if Ceylon adopted Buddhism, the island would, in a certain sense, be subject to him. Tissa accepted the advice sent by the Indian monarch. He favoured the introduction of the new religion, and was duly inaugurated a second time.

Mahinda arrived in Ceylon about the year B.C. 307. His first interview with king Tissa took place on the Mihintale mountain near Anuradhapura. He was welcomed gladly and with great reverence. The king soon became a convert to Buddhism, and the people followed his example in large numbers; for the sermons of the new preacher, as well as his fame and the austerity of his life, drew crowds to him wherever he went, and made a deep impression on those who listened. Buddhism was established at the capital, and the royal garden, Mahamega, was given over to Mahinda and the priests.

It seemed as if the king could not do too much for the new religion. His time, his energies, his treasures were freely spent in schemes for the comfort and advantage of the priests. He marked out and consecrated to Buddhism a large tract of ground which included the capital itself. Within this he built a Vihara or monastery, known thenceforth as the Maha Vihara, "a great seat of learning and the home of great men." He built numerous other Viharas too, and among them one with thirty two cells cut out of the rocks on the Mihintale mountain. Observing that there were no relics of Buddha in the island he, at Mahinda's suggestion, sent to Asoka for the right collar-bone of the great teacher. This, it is said, was immediately sent with a number of other relics, and they were reverently deposited in the mountain till they should be required. Over the collar-bone was erected the Thuparama Dagoba the first dagoba built in Ceylon (B.C. 306.)

Women also were converted to Buddhism through Mahinda's preaching, and the Princess Anula, the

wife of the king's younger brother, with five hundred ladies of her company even asked for admission into the priesthood. But Mahinda said that the rules of Buddhism did not allow him to ordain females; they might however, apply to Asoka to send Sanghamitta (Mahinda's younger sister, who had become a priestess and was renowned for her learning) to Ceylon for this purpose. At the same time they were to ask for a branch of the sacred bo-tree, under the shade of which Buddha had found Buddhahood.

The request was made, and though Asoka did all he could to discourage her, Sanghamitta at once decided to leave her home for Ceylon. When the king pleaded that he would be left comfortless and alone in his old age she replied that her brother's wishes were imperative, and those to be ordained were many. So, taking a branch of the sacred bo-tree given to her by the king, she came to Ceylon accompanied by eleven other priestesses. The branch was planted with great ceremony in the Mahamega garden, aud large numbers of women—Anula among them—were admitted into the priesthood by Sanghamitta. For her the king built a separate Vihara in a cool and secluded place where, with her community of priestesses, she spent the remainder of her life.

When Tissa died B. C. 267 after a long and event-
267 ful reign of forty years, he left his kingdom
B.C. converted to the religion of "the vanquisher."

CHAPTER VI.

The first Tamil Invasion. (B. C. 205.)

UTTIYA, the younger brother of Tissa succeeded to the throne. In the eighth year of his reign, (about 260 B.C.) the priest Mahinda died. The funeral of the great Buddhist preacher was attended with every mark of honour. The rich coffin in which his remains were embalmed was taken with great ceremony to the Maha Vihara, and after seven days, during which frequent offerings were made, it was placed on the funeral pile to which king Uttiya himself applied the torch. Sanghamitta died in the year following, and was buried with similar honours.

UTTIYA 267-257 B.C.

Mahinda and Sanghamitta well deserved the respect paid to their memory. They lived useful and unselfish lives, giving up the comforts and privileges of their royal home at Magadha to live among strangers and to teach the highest truths they knew. They did not weary of their task; they sought no temporal reward; and they died in a strange land in the midst of their labours.

Mahasiva, the younger brother and successor of Uttiya, did nothing more noteworthy than build a fine Vihara for a priest who happened to please him. But in the reign of the next king, Suratissa (a brother of the three previous kings) we came upon the beginnings of a new trouble from which the Sinhalese were to suffer for many centuries. In their anxiety to extend the Buddhist religion, and to gain "merit" for themselves after death by the

MAHASIVA 257-247 B.C.

SURATISSA 247-237 B.C.

building of innumerable Viharas and Dagobas, the kings of Ceylon failed to take proper measures for the protection of the country both from foreign invasion and from the revolts of their own ambitious chiefs. The royal army was neglected, and the Sinhalese people were settling down as tillers of the soil. Many of them were employed in the various buildings which the kings had in hand. These buildings were chiefly in the northern part of the island and especially near Anuradhapura, the capital. But at the same time the Sinhalese chieftains were forming settlements of their own in the Southern and Western districts—settlements which gradually became more and more independent of the king's authority. To protect his throne and to strengthen his hold over the chiefs, Suratissa engaged the services of two Malabar chiefs, named Sena and Guttika, who commanded a body of cavalry. These Malabars soon discovered the weak state of the country and resolved to reign over it themselves. They treacherously murdered their employer, the king, and kept the government in their hands for no less than twenty-two years, when they were defeated and put to death by Asela, who is mentioned as the ninth of Mutasiwa's ten sons.

SENA & GUTTIKA 237-215 B.C.

Asela's reign lasted ten years, but the Malabars in India had by this time found out how easy it was to take possession of the island, and in B.C. 205 the first great Tamil invasion occurred. The Tamils were led by Elára, a prince of the kingdom of Chola (now called Tanjore) in the South of India. He landed at the mouth of the Mahavili-Ganga, and marched victoriously to Anuradhapura

ASELA 215-205 B.C.

where he defeated and slew Asela. All Ceylon north of the Great River was now wholly under his rule; and though the chiefs of Mayaratta and Ruhuna were allowed to govern their own provinces, they were compelled to acknowledge Elára's supremacy and to pay him tribute. Of Ruhuna we shall hear again presently.

Elára built thirty-two forts to make himself secure in his new kingdom. Mantota, a village near Mannar, where in after times new bands of Tamil invaders landed, is said to have been founded by him. His justice and impartiality are noted by the historian, and the people seem to have been satisfied, or at any rate patient under his rule. He caused a bell with a long rope to be hung over the head of his bed, so that anyone who thought himself injured might bring his complaint to the king himself. Though a Brahman, the king gained the favour of the Buddhist priests by offering them his protection and by supporting their institutions. There are some, however, who assert that Elára was a violent enemy of Buddhism, that he pulled down the Viharas and sought to force his own religion on the Sinhalese. This cannot be altogether true though it is probable that in the capital and in the northern part of the island Buddhism did suffer to some extent, while the Brahman creed made great progress.

CHAPTER VII.

The Kings of Ruhuna.

THUS Elára continued to reign for forty-four years. But south of the great river the native chiefs ruled undisturbed, and Buddhism still prevailed. In Ruhuna the sovereign power was held by a member of the Vijayan family, and to this province we must now give some attention.

When Tissa was king, Mahanaga his younger brother held the office of "sub-king." The queen of Tissa was afraid that Mahanaga would, on his brother's death, usurp the kingdom (for Tissa's son was but a child) and she tried to kill him. While Mahanaga was engaged in the formation of a tank, she sent him a jar of mangoes in which the uppermost mango contained poison. Tissa's son, who was with Mahanaga at the time, ate this fruit and died. Upon this Mahanaga fled to Ruhuna, and there established himself, making Mágáma his capital, and building Viharas and Dagobas for the Buddhist religion. The dagoba at Mahiyangana in Bintenne was one of these. He was succeeded by his son, Yatthalaka Tissa, who founded Kelaniya, which is said to have been at that time sixteen miles from the sea. When Elára reigned at Anuradhapura, the king of Ruhuna was Yatthalaka Tissa's grandson, named Kalunna. His wife was Viharadevi, a gentle and pious princess of Kelaniya. She bore him two sons—Gemunu and Tissa—who were carefully brought up in the Buddhist faith. But Gemunu, the elder son, was from his youth vexed at the usurpation of the Tamils, and eager to drive them out of the Island. He made no secret of his intention

to expel them as soon as he was able. On one occasion, when Gemunu was twelve and Tissa ten years old, the king placed three portions of boiled rice before them. "Eat this portion," said he, pointing to the first, "vowing ye will never do injury to the priests." Again, pointing to the next portion, he said, "Eat this, vowing ye two brothers will ever live in friendship." Both the boys ate the portions "as if," says the record, "they had consisted of celestial food." Then, pointing to the third portion of the food, the king bade them eat it vowing "never to make war with the Tamils." This the boys angrily refused to do. They flung the portion from them, and Gemunu retiring to his bed laid himself on it with his hands and feet gathered up. His mother followed him to his room, and caressing him enquired, "My boy, why not stretch thyself on thy bed and lie down comfortably?" "How can I?" he replied; "Pressed in on one side by the Tamils beyond the river, and by the ocean on the other, how can I lie down with outstretched limbs?"

Gemunu spent his youth in preparing for a great war against the Tamils. He trained himself in all warlike exercises. He learnt to use the bow and to manage the elephant and the horse. As his personal attendants he gathered round him a band of ten powerful warriors, each famous for some notable feat of strength or daring, and all taught to be loyal to their leader and their country. Their names and exploits are mentioned. Nandimitta came from the capital itself, where he would fearlessly punish any Tamil whom he found insulting a sacred building of the Buddhists. Suranimila made wonderfully quick journeys between places very far apart. Mahasona and Gothayimbra

could uproot trees. Theraputtabhaya could fell the palmyra and the coconut palm with a huge staff sixteen cubits long. Bharana was swift-footed as the deer or the hare. Velusumana, on a charger which no other man called mount, whirled along at full speed in the ring, so that there was "the appearance of one continuous horse in every part of the circus." Kanjadeva, the deformed of foot, could kill wild buffaloes by dashing them on the ground. Phussadeva, the chank-blower and lightning archer, could shoot through a horsehair held as a target or through a cart filled with sand. Vasabha the handsome could lift huge baskets of earth which ten stout labourers could scarcely raise together. These, each "possessing the strength of ten elephants", were the ten heroes who follow Gemunu, and by their means a large army was raised. Each hero enlisted ten others, each of these again ten more, and so on, till the prince commanded 11, 110 men.

Gemunu now felt confident of his ability to carry on a successful war against the Tamils, but the king would not hear of it. Three times permission to begin the fight was asked and refused. Kalunna Tissa thought only of the danger to his son in a war against so experienced a warrior as Elára. These refusals, however, irritated Gemunu so much that he insolently sent his father an ornament worn by women, and said to his friends, "If my father were a man, he would not say No; let him, therefore, wear this." Then, to avoid his father's anger, he fled to the mountains, and was ever after known as *Dutugemunu*—Gemunu the disobedient.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Triumph of Dutugemunu.

ON the death of Kalunna, Prince Tissa seized the throne, and a conflict took place between the brothers. Tissa wàs defeated in two great battles and was afterwards forgiven by Gemunu at the intercession of the priests. Then, at the head of a united army, and with the blessing of the priests, Gemunu began the great war which had been the chief desire of his youth. One by one the Tamil chiefs in the neighbouring districts were overcome. Crossing the river, Gemunu advanced upon Vijitapura, where all the Tamils who had escaped slaughter along the banks of the river had now collected. The city held out for four months. It was defended by three lines of trenches and lofty battlements. It had also a massive iron gate, against which Kandula, the king's powerful elephant, charged in vain; for, as he charged, the defenders poured melted resin on his back, and the maddened animal would rush into the nearest pond to assuage the pain, A covering of buffalo hides was provided when his wounds were healed, and again he returned to his task. At last the gate was burst open. Through this, and through breaches made in the wall, the besiegers entered, destroyed the fortifications, and slew the panic-stricken Tamils.

After taking several other forts of less importance, Gemunu prepared for the assault on Anuradhapura. He took up a strong position near the city, and made it stronger still by erecting round it no less than thirty-two well-fortified redoubts. Elára decided to make an attack, and advanced against the enemy. He was

mounted on his elephant and was accompanied by the valiant Dighajantu, his chief general. The latter distinguished himself that day by a reckless valour that made the Tamils victorious wherever he led them. One by one the redoubts were taken, and the Tamil army at length approached the position defended by Gemunu himself. But the daring warrior's successful course was there checked and he fell a victim to the sword of Suranimila. The Tamil army now gave way, and a fierce slaughter took place where Dighajantu was slain, till Elára himself advanced and rallied his men. Gemunu, mounted on Kandula immediately sought his rival. The two kings met in single combat near the southern gate of the capital. Elára hurled his spear at Gemunu, who avoided it, and urged Kandula to an attack on the elephant that Elára rode. As the two animals rushed on each other Gemunu hurled his javelin at the Tamil king, and both Elára and his elephant fell dead together.

Thus ends "the solitary tale of Ceylon chivalry." Dutugemunu must have been a really brave man for he was able to respect courage in others, even in his enemies. Elára's dead body was not treated like that of a foreign usurper, but was burnt with all due honour on the spot where he fell, and a tomb was built over the ashes. More than that, the king made a decree that any who passed that tomb, were it even the king of Lanka in grand procession, should silence all music and pass on foot. The rule was strictly observed. Nearly two thousand years later—— in A.D. 1818 ——a great Kandyan chief was attempting to escape after an unsuccessful attempt at rebellion. As he came near the reputed tomb of Elára, he "alighted

from his litter, although weary and almost incapable of exertion; and, not knowing the precise spot, walked on, until assured that he had passed far beyond this ancient memorial."

CHAPTER IX.

Dutugemunu's Buildings.

THE Sinhalese dynasty was now restored, and Dutugemunu reigned sole sovereign over Lanka. A week after Elára's cremation, a Tamil army commanded by Elára's nephew attempted to regain possession of the island; but the invaders were easily defeated, and henceforth Dutugemunu's reign was one of unbroken peace. The king's wars were over; but when he thought upon these wars and the countless lives sacrificed in them, peace of mind was denied him. To make amends for the suffering he had caused, he determined to do all he could for the advancement of the religion of Buddha; and if good works can in themselves quiet the reproaches of conscience and atone for wrong, Dutugemunu might have been happy. For to the end of his life he faithfully observed the resolution he had made. He was first the patron of the priest hood, and then their slave. He gave them food and garments. For them he built Viharas and Dagobas whose very ruins now compel admiration. He built and furnished hospitals for the sick and infirm. He celebrated religious festivals with great regularity. But no one can read the story of his latter days without feeling that all these acts did not quite satisfy him or bring to his mind the comfort that he sought.

Of Dutugemunu's great buildings at Anuradhapura there are two worth special notice—the *Lówá Mahá Páya* and the *Ruwanweli Séya.*

The Lówá Mahá Páya—or Brazen Palace—was built to accomodate the large and increasing number of priests in the capital. It stood on sixteen hundred columns of granite, each column consisting of a single stone. These stones may still be seen, some of them rising twelve feet above the ground. The palace that stood on them was about 250 feet long, 250 feet broad, and 250 feet high. It was roofed with sheets of brass, whence its name, the Brazen Palace. In it were nine stories, each divided into a hundred richly-decorated apartments. The priests of highest rank occupied the uppermost story, the lowest in rank lived on the first floor. In the middle of the palace there was a hall supported on gilt pillars representing lions and other animals. In the centre of this inner hall was placed a beautiful ivory throne on which rested an ivory fan of exquisite beauty; while above the throne glittered the white umbrella-shaped canopy which was the Sinhalese emblem of royal power and authority.

The Ruwanweli Dagoba, known also as the Mahathupa, was begun by Dutugemunu, but he did not live to see it completed. No forced labour was employed in this work. The people had suffered so severely from the taxes required by the war, that the king felt he could not ask more from them. He therefore ordered that all the workmen should be paid. The Dágoba was about 270 feet high and about a thousand feet in circumference. The foundations for so massive a building were made very strong, and the "festival-brick" was laid with great ceremony. The capital

and the road leading to it were decorated; crowds assembled from the city and the provinces; thousands of priests, among them many from India, were present; and the pious king proceeded to the spot in full state, dressed in his royal robes, and accompanied by his officers, guards, and musicians.

In the middle of the Dagoba was built a relic chamber, in the centre of which was placed a bo-tree made of the precious metals, and round this was an image of Buddha with groups of figures representing events in his life.

The building of the spire and the plastering of the dagoba alone remained to be done when king Dutugemunu fell sick. As the king wished to see how the work would appear when completed, his brother Tissa had the building cased in white cloth, and put up a temporary spire made of bamboos, so that the king's last wishes might be gratified. Dutugemunu was carried round the dagoba to which he reverently bowed in worship. Then, as he lay on a carpet which had been spread on the ground, his eyes rested on the Mahathupa which stood on one side of him, and again on the Brazen Palace that stood on the other side. "Supported by thee," he said to the priest Théraputtabhaya, who had been one of his ten heroes, "in times past I engaged in war; now single-handed I have commenced my conflict with death. I shall not be permitted to overcome this mortal foe." To which the priest replied, "Ruler of men, without subduing the power of the foe Sin, the power of the foe Death is invincible. Call to mind thy many acts of piety, and consolation will be surely given thee." A record of the king's pious deeds was read to him, but when the

ist was finished all he remarked was: "All these offerings were conferred in the days of my prosperity, and do not afford me any relief. Two offerings made by me when I was in adversity are those which alone give comfort to my mind." He directed his brother Tissa to complete all that remained to be done at the Mahathupa; to continue the offerings he had been accustomed to make; and in no respect to be wanting in attention to the priesthood, Then, gazing on the dagoba, which had been the last work of his eventful life, the heroic king expired.

CHAPTER X.

From B. C. 137 to B. C. 22.

DUTUGEMUNU left a son, Sali; but this prince had married a woman of low caste and was therefore excluded from the throne. Saidatissa, the brother of Dutugemunu, now became king, and reigned eighteen years. He completed the Ruwanweli Dagoba, and built a number of Viharas. In his reign the Brazen Palace caught fire and was burnt down. The king had it rebuilt, but reduced the number of stories from nine to seven.

SAIDATISSA 137-119 B.C.

Three kings followed Saidatissa, of whom nothing more need be said than that they encouraged Buddhism and added to the beauty of the Buddhist buildings in Anuradhapura. But, thirty-three years after Dutugemunu's death, Walagambahu, a son of Saidatissa, ascended the throne. A few months after his accession the second great

WALAGAMBAHU.

Tamil invasion took place. Seven Tamil Chiefs landed in the island and made their way to Anuradhapura, where they attacked and defeated the king. The queen Somadevi was taken prisoner, and Walagambahu saved himself by flight. For nearly fifteen years he wandered in concealment in the forests of Ruhuna, while the Tamils ruled over the country. Two of the Tamil Chiefs returned to India, and the remaining five attempted to govern. But each, after a short reign, was murdered by his successor, and the last was put to death by Walagambahu who then resumed his sovereignty.

SECOND TAMIL INVASION. 103-88 B.C.

88 B.C.

Walagambahu celebrated his restoration in the usual way by building temples and monasteries. He was the first king of Ceylon to set apart lands for the support of the priesthood. The kings had previously been accustomed to confer personal gifts on the priests; but when Walagambahu was a fugitive in Ruhuna he had no money at command. In his gratitude, however, to a priest who had befriended him, the king made the priest a grant of certain lands, and the practice once begun was extensively carried on afterwards by succeeding rulers.

Of Walagambahu's Viharas the most famous is that at Dambulla where once the king lay hid. It is a large cave altered into a temple, and richly decorated with figures of Buddha and the king himself, while pictures of scenes in the history of Ceylon (such as the landing of Vijaya, and the fight between Elára and Dutugemunu) are painted on the walls. Two dagobas built by the king are also worthy of note. The Suwana-

rama dagoba (321 feet high) was built to commemorate the recovery of his queen Somadevi from the Tamils. But more notable was the Abhayagiri dagoba (412 feet high) built at Anuradhapura, B.C. 87. The new monastery at Abhayagiri caused a division in Buddhism. Its priests, who on account of the king's favour had grown numerous, taught certain doctrines which the priests of the Mahavihara (p. 17) rejected. It happened at this time that the Mahavihara priests expelled one of their number who had broken one of the monastic laws. A pupil of the expelled priest was offended at this, and went over to the Abhayagiri Vihara where he was admitted as a member of the community. The Mahavihara therefore ceased to recognize the new establishment which now became a separate sect. This sect itself divided shortly after into two parties.

The Mahavihara priests did one thing more to mark their opposition to the new sect. From the time of Mahinda the Buddhist doctrines were committed to memory by the priests and handed down orally. It was now determined to record these doctrines in writing, and by this course to give less opportunity for doubt and mistake as to what Buddha taught. An assembly of five hundred priests met at Aluvihara, near Matale, and there the *Tripitaka* or "Threefold Collection," with the Commentaries or Notes on them, were written down. This happened about the year
76 85 B.C. Walagambahu died B.C. 76 after
B.C. a reign of twelve years, having also reigned five months before the Tamils drove him from the throne.

The next king was Mahachula, a nephew of Walagambahu. During his reign of fourteen years (which

were devoted entirely to the service of the priesthood) Naga, the son of Walagambahu, was leading the life of a robber, going about from place to place plundering where he could. For this reason he was called CHORANAGA, Naga the marauder. On Mahachula's death he became king, but twelve years after was poisoned by his queen Anula, a woman notorious for her wickedness. KUDATISSA, the eldest son of Mahachula succeeded, and was also poisoned by Anula after a reign of three years. Then, from B.C. 47 to B.C. 42 ANULA herself ruled over Ceylon, its first reigning queen. Within these five years she married in succession no less than thirty two husbands, some of them men of the lowest rank in life. Raising them to the sovereignty she got rid of each by poison when she tired of him. For the last four months she reigned alone, and was

22 B.C.

then put to death by MAKALANTISSA, the second son of Mahachula. The new king, who died B.C. 22, built a rampart about 16 feet high, round Anuradhapura.

CHAPTER XI.

From B.C. 20 to A.D. 135.

BHATIYA I, the son and successor of Makalantissa, was noted for his piety and his devotion to the priesthood. He repaired the sacred buildings and

BHATIYA I. (B.C. 20—A.D. 9.)

set apart the revenues from certain lands to meet the cost of keeping these buildings in good order. This monarch

appears to have been very fond of flowers. He not only planted extensive gardens, but adorned the Ruanweli Dágoba with flowers. He is said to have completely covered the Dágoba on one occasion with a great heap of flowers, and then to have poured over them water brought by means of machinery from the Abhaya tank.

We must pause here to note an event of the greatest importance that occurred during this reign in another part of Asia. At Bethlehem, in the land of Palestine, a country smaller than Ceylon, Jesus Christ, the Founder and Head of the Christian religion, was born. The year of His birth is reckoned the first of the Christian era,—that is, it is the period from which Christian nations date all historical events. It is the year A.D.I., the letters "A.D." standing for the Latin words *Anno Domini*, in the year of our Lord. All events that took place before this birth are said to have occurred "B.C.", *Before Christ ;* all events after this are dated "A.D." Bhátiya's reign, for instance, began B.C. 20, and ended A.D. 9 ; or, more fully, it began 20 years before Jesus Christ was born, and ended in the ninth year after that event. The dates in this history will from this time be marked A.D.

B.C. AND A.D.

The next king, Mahadeliya Mana, the younger brother of Bhátiya I, also greatly encouraged the cultivation of flowers in Ceylon, but even the priests were obliged to protest against the excesses of his piety. He celebrated a splendid festival at the Sigiriya Dagoba—which he himself had caused to be built. He built several Viharas in Ruhuna, and dedicated lands for their

Mahadeliya Mana. 9-21 A.D.

maintenance. In these matters he did nothing more than other kings before him had done. But when he dedicated himself, his family, his horse, and his state elephant as slaves to the priesthood, the priests themselves reproved him, and he had afterwards to be released from his vow by the payment of a large sum of money.

The next three kings may be briefly noticed. ADAGEMUNU forbade the killing of animals and caused melons and other fruits to be grown for food in various places. He was put to death by KANIRAJANUTISSA, his brother, who at the same time seized 60 priests on a charge of conspiring against the throne and imprisoned them in a cave in the Sigiriya mountain. CHULABHAYA, his nephew, succeeded, and after a short reign gave

SIVALI
(Second Queen.)

place to SIVALI, his sister and the second reigning queen of Ceylon. She reigned four months only and was deposed and murdered by ILANAGA a nephew of Adagemunu.

In Ilanaga's reign an insurrection took place. The Lambakarna, a royal caste, happened to displease the

ILANAGA
38-44
A.D.

king, and as a punishment he set them to work on a dagoba he intended to build, and placed them under overseers of a lower caste. Enraged at this the Lambakarnas revolted and made the king a prisoner. He however escaped to the coast and remained beyond the seas collecting an army to recover his throne. After three years he returned, and with the assistance of his foreign troops and an army from Ruhuna, he defeated the insurgents and reigned six years.

Ilanaga was succeeded in 44 A.D. by his son SANDAMUHUNU who built the Minigiri tank. This king was

murdered by his younger brother YASALALAKATISSA, who met his death in a remarkable way. A young

SUBHA

gate-porter, named Subha, bore a close personal resemblance to the king. The king would often in a merry mood change places with the porter. The latter, wearing the royal robes would be seated on the throne, while Yasalalakatissa would stand at the palace gate with the porter's staff in his hand. The king found great amusement in watching the ministers of state paying respect to the mock king. One day, however, the jest was turned to earnest. SUBHA, the porter on the throne, used his temporary authority to order the real king to be put

VASABHA
66-110
A.D.

to death, and he himself reigned for six years when he was slain by VASABHA, a descendant of the Vijayan house.

Among the many pious deeds of Vasabha it is recorded that he built a roof over the Ruanweli Dagoba, formed eleven tanks, and made twelve canals for purposes of irrigation. He did not neglect to take measures for the better protection of the capital, for he raised the wall round it to the height of 41 feet, that is, 25 feet higher than it had been made by Makalantissa. (*see p.* 33). Vasabha reigned 44 years and was succeeded by his son VANKANASIKATISSA in whose reign (110-113) the third great Tamil invasion

THIRD TAMIL
INVASION.

occurred. The Tamils were on this occasion led by the king of Chola a district north east of Pandya, (*see p.* 7) and now known as Tanjore. The Cholians plundered the country and went back taking 12,000 Sinhalese with them as prisoners. In the next reign, however, GAJABAHU,

GAJABAHU I. 113-135 A.D. the son of Vankanasika, avenged this outrage. He crossed over to India with an army, plundered the Chola country, and brought back not only the Sinhalese who had been taken away but also the same number of Cholians to whom he gave lands at Harispattu, Tumpane, and Alutkuru Korle. The descendants of these settlers even now bear traces of their Indian origin. To celebrate this victory a Perahera procession was annually celebrated at Anuradhapura.

CHAPTER XII.

The Last of the Mahavansa Kings.

PASSING over the next six kings we come to VOHORATISSA A.D. 215. Early in the king's reign there was another conflict between the Maha-vihara and the Abhayagiri Vihara. The priests of the latter taught certain strange doctrines which they had learnt from Brahman named Vaitulya. The king promptly put down this teaching, but, as we shall see, the heresy revived not long after.

VOHORATISSA 215-237 A.D.

Vohoratissa reigned twenty-two years and was then put to death by his younger brother ABHAYANAGA, who with the aid of a Tamil army seized the throne. On his death Vohoratissa's son and grandson respectively occupied the throne. In the reign of the latter, three men of the Lambakarna Caste formed a conspiracy,

slew the king, and reigned in succession. The first, SANGHATISSA, reigned four years. In the reign of the

SIRI SANGABO I. 252-254 A.D.

second, SIRI SANGABO I, a terrible drought occurred, as also a plague which chiefly affected the eyes. It is said that the practice of devil-dancing was established at this time to keep off the red-eyed demon to whom this plague was attributed. The king was a very superstitious man. In consequence of certain Buddhist vows that he had taken he would not allow the execution of criminals who had been condemned to death. Robbers were seized, and brought to trial; but they were afterwards privately set free, and the corpses of persons who had died natural deaths were burned in their stead. The king's weak folly induced the Prime Minister to form a plot against his rule. To avoid bloodshed Sangabo secretly left the Capital, unaccompanied by any followers, taking with him only his water-strainer, lest in drinking water he should cause the death of the little animals in it. He was soon discovered and slain by a peasant at Atanagalla and his head was taken to Gothabhaya who was now king.

GOTHABAYA began his rule by attempting to purify the Buddhist religion. The Vaitulyan heresy had quietly spread in spite of the efforts made by Voharatissa to destroy it, and the heretics had become "thorns unto the religion of the vanquisher." Sixty of them—priests of the Abhayagiri Vihara—were excommunicated and banished to India. A Vaitulyan named Sanghamitta, however, came over to Ceylon, and contrived to win the favour of the king who appointed him to be tutor to his two sons. But while the younger

prince, Mahasen, was easily converted by the teaching of Sanghamitta, the elder, Detutis, disliked his teacher who fled to India when the prince became king. DETUTIS reigned twelve years and strongly supported the Mahavihara priests. But when on his death

MAHASEN 277-304 A.D.

(A.D. 277) Mahasen his younger brother succeeded, Sanghamitta came back, and the older monastery suffered. Guided by Sanghamitta Mahasen forbade the giving of alms to any priest of the Mahavihara. These priests accordingly went in distress to the Ruhuna district, and for nine years the great Vihara remained untenanted. The Vaitulian then declared that unclaimed property belonged to the king, and the Vihara was in consequence pulled down, and its materials carried away to adorn the Abhayagiri Vihara. Over three hundred religious buildings were in this way destroyed, and even the great Brazen Palace was pulled down. These proceedings gave great offence to the people, and the king's chief minister retired to Ruhuna and collected a force to rise against the king. Before there was any fighting, however, the king seems to have thought better of it, and gave way. He renounced his errors, and as Sanghamitta happened to be assassinated about this time, Mahasen did all he could to atone for his previous misconduct. He rebuilt the Brazen Palace, and repaired many damaged religious buildings throughout the island. He destroyed the Hindu devalas and erected viharas in their place. He began also the Jaytawaranama dagoba, about 321 feet high, and a *thupa* or dome for the temple of a Yakkha chief. This shows us that the original inhabitants of the island were again employed with the Sinhalese in the various works that Mahasen undertook.

But it is by his tanks, formed for the purpose of helping and extending cultivation, that Mahasen will be best remembered. Of these he built sixteen, the largest being the Minneriya and the Kantalai Tanks: The Minneriya tank, from fifteen to twenty miles in circumference, was formed by building a dam across the Kara Ganga. Both this and the Kantalai tank are situated between Dambulla and Trincomalie.

Mahasen died A. D. 304, and "having performed, during the whole course of his existence, acts both of piety and impiety, his destiny after death was according to his merits." This was the verdict of the priests who could not forget that at the beginning of his reign the King persecuted them and pulled down their sacred places. But the people remembered only the benefits conferred on them by the great tanks which Mahasen had formed. At Minneriya, a temple was erected in his honour and he was worshipped as a god.

With Mahasen ends the *Mahavansa* or great dynasty. The kings that followed Mahasen are said to belong to the *Suluvansa*, or lower dynasty, either because they were not of unmixed descent, or because the island was not so prosperous in their times. We shall see, however, that considerable interest in literature and the arts was shown during the rule of the kings of the lower line, and that one of them, at least, earned as much military glory as any of his predecessors.

TABLE

Showing Kings of the Mahavansa or Great Dynasty. (B.C. 543 †—A.D. 304.)

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign*
		B.C.		
1	Vijaya I	543†	Tammenná Nuwara	38
2	Upatissa (*Regent*)	505	Upatissa Nuwara	1
3	Panduwasdew	504	〃	30
4	Abhaya	474	〃	20
	(*Interregnum of 17 years*	454—437		17
5	Pandukábhaya	437	Anurádhapura	70
6	Mutasiva	367‡	〃	60
7	Dévánampiyatissa	307	〃	10
8	Uttiya	267	〃	10
9	Mahásiva	257	〃	10
10	Suratissa	247	〃	10
11	*Sena and Guttika* (Tamils)	237	〃	22
12	Aséla	215	〃	10
13	*Elára* (a Tamil)	205	〃	44

* In *years*, unless otherwise stated † see p. 4 ‡ see p. 12.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign*.
		B.C.		
14	Dutugemunu	161	Anuradhapura	24
15	Sedétissa	137	"	18
16	Tuluna *or* Tullatthana	119	"	1⅓ mths.
17	Ladétissa	119	"	9⅔
18	Kalunná	109	"	6
19	Valagambáhu	104	"	5 mths.
20	*Five Tamil Kings*	103	"	15
	Valagambáhu (*restored*)	88	"	12
21	Mahasilu Mahatis	76	"	14
22	Chóranága	62	"	12
23	Kudátissa	50	"	3
24	Anulá (*Queen*)	47	"	5
25	Makalantissa	42	"	22
26	Bhátiya I	20	"	28
		A.D.		
27	Mahadeliyá Máná	9	"	12
28	Adagemunu	21	"	8¾

* In *years*, unless otherwise stated.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign*
		A.D.		
29	Kanírajánutissa	30	Anuradhapura.	3
30	Chúlábhaya	33	"	1
31	Sivali (*Queen*)	35	"	4 mths.
	(*Interregnum of 3 years*)	35—38	"	3
32	Ilanága	38	"	6
33	Sandamuhunu	44	"	8½
34	Yasalálakatissa	52	"	7⅔
35	Subha	60	"	6
36	Vasabha	66	"	44
37	Vankanásikatissa	110	"	3
38	Gajabáhu I	113	"	22
39	Mahaluná	135	"	6
40	Bhátiya II	141	"	24
41	Kanitutissa	165	"	28
42	Suluná *or* Chúlanága	193	"	2
43	Kuddanága	195	"	1
44	Sirinága I	196	"	19

* In *years*, unless otherwise stated.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign*
		A.D.		
45	Voharatissa	215	Anuradhapura.	22
46	Abhayanága	237	"	8
47	Sirinága II	245	"	2
48	Vijaya II (or Vijayindu)	247	"	1
49	Sanghatissa I	248	"	4
50	Siri Sangabó I	252	"	2
51	Góthábhaya	254	"	13
52	Detutis I *or* Jetthatissa	267	"	10
53	Mahasen	277 to 304	"	27

* In *years*, unless otherwise stated.

CHAPTER XIII.

Progress in Arts and Literature.

THE reign of SRI MEGHAVARNA or SIRIMEVAN, son and successor of Mahasen, is notable in the history of Buddhism. He profited by his father's mistakes, and took the part of the Mahavihara priests. He completed the restoration of the Brazen Palace and the Jaytawanarama Dágoba, and built numerous Viharas and tanks. The story of Mahinda, who brought Buddhism into Ceylon (*see pp.* 15-19), interested the king greatly, and when he had fully learnt what there was to be known of the Buddhist preacher's life, he caused a golden statue of Mahinda to be made, and having conveyed it in solemn procession through the city, placed it with due honour in a house near the palace.

SIRIMEVAN 304-332 A.D.

More important than this was the bringing to Ceylon of the famous relic known as Buddha's tooth. This happened about 313 A.D. in the ninth year of Sri Meghavarna's reign. To keep it from falling into the hands of enemies, a Brahman princess brought the tooth to Ceylon from Kalinga (that part of India which is now called Orissa), hidden away in the folds of her hair. The king received it with reverence, and placing it in a valuable casket, kept it in the royal park in a house thence forward known as the House of the Tooth.

TOOTH RELIC 313 A.D.

DETUTIS II, the younger brother of the king, succeeded, and reigned nine years. Sculpture and painting were his favourite pursuits, and Schools were

BUDDHADASA 341-370 A.D.

established where these were arts taught. His son BUDDHADASA, "the Slave of Buddha," was famous in another way, as a physician and surgeon. He was accustomed to carry a case of surgical instruments in the folds of his waist cloth, and was thus able to give prompt relief to many sufferers whom he met on various occasions. From the anecdotes mentioned in the Sinhalese record one may be selected to show that the king could cure diseases of the mind as well as diseases of the body. There seems to be no reason why we should doubt the general truth of this incident. One day, while going in procession through the city, he noticed a leper who showed much anger when the king appeared. The king sent a messenger to find out the reason of this extraordinary behaviour, and learnt that the leper had conceived a strange hatred against the king, and was even determined to kill him. Here was evidently a case of insanity, and the royal physician gave full instructions to one of his attendants how the disease was to be treated. The king's messenger went to the leper, pretended that he himself had long wished to put the king to death, but could find no accomplice; and he succeeded at last in persuading the madman that they could work out their plans more easily by living together in the messenger's house. There the madman was lodged very comfortably, and treated with the utmost care and attention till his health improved and his temper became more tractable. After some time, when food and dainties were, as usual, placed before him, the messenger informed him that these gifts had come from the king. The leper was at first very angry, but gradually yielded to his friend's

arguments, and soon became an attached subject of the king: so loyal, in fact, was he, that when he heard a false rumour of the king's death, he too died of grief.

The king's skill in medicine was applied to the benefit of the lower animals as well as of mankind, and his efforts to provide medical relief for all classes of his subjects deserve the highest praise. He established hospitals in the villages and appointed to them medical men who were paid from a grain tax of one-twentieth part of the produce of cultivated fields. Asylums furnished with all necessaries were built along the main roads for the lame and the blind. The king also published a book—the *Sárrathasanghaka*——in which he gave a summary of all that was then known of medical science.

To other matters of religion and government the king was not indifferent. His reign was one of peace and general prosperity. He gave much encouragement to educated priests by listening to their discourses and by providing for their maintenance. For them he extended the Maha Vihara by building the Peaçock Monastery, and dedicated the revenues of two villages to supply their wants.

In his reign we notice the progress of that intellectual awakening which began in the reign of Detutis II. Then Art Schools were founded; now literature began to be thought of. The "Sutras," or Sermons of Buddha, were in Buddhadása's reign translated from Pali into Sinhalese, and the king himself, as we have seen, wrote a book on medicine.

CHAPTER XIV.

Two Famous Visitors

BUDDHADÁSA died after a reign of twenty-nine years, leaving behind him, it is said, no less than eighty sons. The eldest of these, UPATISSA, succeeded him. This king appears to have been a superstitious monarch, but he built several tanks (one of which was probably the *Topewewa*, where Pollonaruwa was afterwards built), and both improved and added to the Buddhist buildings that then existed. Images of Buddha continued to multiply in this reign. A fine palace was erected at Atanagalla, and the roof covered with copper. The king's wicked queen, however, caused him to be secretly stabbed to death, and he was succeeded by his younger brother, MAHANAMA.

UPATISSA II. 370-412 A.D.

Early in Mahanama's reign, about the year 412 or 413 A.D., a famous Chinese traveller, named Fa Hian, visited Ceylon after he had gone round the principal cities of India. From his writings we obtain ample proof of the greatness to which by this time the city of Anuradhapura had grown. He writes of its temples, monasteries, and statues; of the Bo-tree; of the tooth which had been recently brought from India; and the procession held in its honour. There were 5,000 Buddhist priests, he says, in the capital alone, and more than ten times that number dispersed throughout the Island. The capital is thus described: "The city is the residence of many magistrates, grandees, and foreign merchants; the

MAHANAMA 412-434 A.D.

FA HIAN

mansions beautiful, the public buildings richly adorned, the streets and highways straight and level, and houses for preaching built at every thoroughfare." Fa Hian lived two years at Anuradhapura, where he employed his time in copying the sacred books of Buddhism. His account of Ceylon is important, because they confirm many statements made by the Sinhalese historian.

A more important visitor however, came from India

BUDDHAGHOSA

a few years later. This was Buddhaghosa, a young Brahman, who may well be called the second founder of Buddhism in Ceylon; for besides translating the sacred books, he wrote other books in explanation of them, and so gave a fixed and settled meaning to the Buddhist doctrines. Even before he left his native Magadha, he had composed a work on Buddhism, and in the Mahavihara at Anuradhapura he re-translated into Pali the *Commentaries* (*see p. 32*) which Mahinda had made the Sinhalese priests learn in their own language. In India the Pali version was not to be found at this time, and it was in the hope of obtaining it that Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon. He could get only the Sinhalese version which, as we have seen, was first put into writing at Aluvihara, and this he re-translated into Pali. He also compiled the *Visuddhimargaya*, a very popular book, in which the teachings of the Tripitaka were briefly summarized. Buddhaghosa, the "Voice of Buddha"—for so he was called from his eloquence and learning—stayed in Ceylon three years, and then returned to India.

The kings of Ceylon used frequently to send embassies

FOREIGN EMBASSIES.

to foreign countries. It is probable that about the time of Sandamuhunu an

embassy was despatched to Rome, and that another was sent to the same city in the reign of Upatissa II. In Upatissa's reign an embassy was also sent to China. Travelling overland by India, it took ten years to reach the capital of China. The next recorded embassy to China was sent in Mahanama's reign. It carried an address to the Emperor from the King of Ceylon, together with a model of the shrine in which the tooth relic was placed. These facts are worth noticing if only to show how Ceylon was regarded by other countries.

CHAPTER XV.

From 434 A.D. to 524 A.D.

MAHANAMA reigned twenty-two years. On his death there followed a time of confusion of which the Tamils, as we shall see, did not fail to take advantage. Mahanama's son SOTTHI SENA, whose mother was a Tamil, was put to death on the very day of his accession by Sangha, his step-sister. Sangha's husband CHATTAGAHAKA then became king, but died within the year. The next king was MITTA SENA, of whose origin nothing is known. After reigning one year, he was put to death by the Tamils, a band of whom invaded the island and held the country for about twenty-five years (436-461 A.D.). As usual, the Sinhalese chiefs fled to Ruhuna, where several princes of the royal line had settled at the time of Subha's

TAMIL INVASION. 436 A.D.

A. D. 419. English kingdoms begun in Britain.

usurpation *(see p. 36)*. During the rule of the Tamil usurpers—they were six in number—the dágobas and Viharas of the Buddhists suffered considerably. But the last three kings were killed in succession by DHATUSENA, a descendant of one of the old settlers in Ruhuna. Dhatusena had for many years carried on an intermittent warfare from Ruhuna against the Tamils. He became king in A.D. 461, and the Sinhalese supremacy was thus restored. The Buddhist buildings were rebuilt and improved, agriculture was revived, and new tanks were made, of which the *Kalawewa* was the largest. The statues of Buddha, which the Tamils had despoiled of their ornaments, were restored and again adorned. The king set up a statue also of the Metteya Buddha, that is, of a Buddha who is yet to come into the world. Great honour was paid to the memory of Mahinda. A festival was celebrated at the place where the great preacher was cremated. An image of him was carried in procession, and the *Dipavansa*—the oldest history of the island—was read aloud to the assembled multitudes.

DHATUSENA 461-479 A.D.

Dhátuséna's tutor and adviser in most matters was his uncle, a priest named Mahanama, whom we must not confuse with the king of that name. During Dhatusena's reign, this priest Mahanama composed a history of Ceylon for the period between the arrival of Vijaya and the reign of Mahasen. It was called the *Mahavansa*, because it referred to the kings of the Great Dynasty (*see p. 40*). Written in Pali verse, its very existence was in recent years known only to the priests, and of these only a few were able to understand

THE MAHAVANSA.

the Pali language. Further additions, bringing down the history to 1758 A.D., were made in later times. The first part (written by Mahanama) was translated into English by Mr. George Turnour, a member of the Ceylon Civil Service, and published at Colombo in 1837. The remaining parts were translated and published with a revision of Mr. Turnour's work by Mudaliyar L. C. Wijesingha in 1889. It is from this Mahawansa that most of our information regarding the early history of Ceylon is derived. Its greatest defect as a history is that it says very little about the social condition of the Sinhalese, while it gives too much attention to the superstitions of the Buddhist kings and to the successes of the Mahavihara priests.

KASYAPA I. 479-497 A.D.

Dhatusena had two sons, Kásyapa and Mugalan, by different mothers. The elder, KASYAPA, formed a conspiracy against his father and seized the kingdom. Dhatusena was dethroned and thrown into a dungeon, where he was afterwards walled up alive and so came to a terrible end.

Mugalan fled to India where he tried to collect an army to fight against the usurper. Meanwhile Kasyapa, feeling that he could not wholly rely upon the support of the people, established his capital at Sigiriya *(Lion Rock)*, a steep and solitary rock at the extreme north of the present Central Province—about thirty miles south-east of Anuradhapura. To this stronghold he removed his treasures, and round it he erected strong fortifications. Within he built a splendid palace, and lived in great comfort. Remorse for his crime, however, began to creep upon him, and he tried by building Viharas, and performing

SIGIRIYA.

acts of charity and piety to quiet the reproaches of his conscience. It was in vain. In the expressive words of the *Mahavansa*, the parricide "made many images, alms-houses, and the like; but he lived on in fear of the world to come and of Mugalan."

In the eighteenth year of Kasyapa's reign the dreaded Mugalan arrived with a large army. Landing at Colombo— a place which the *Mahavansa* now mentions for the first time, though not by that name— he marched towards Sigiriya. About half way, near Kurunegala, Kasyapa met him and a great battle followed, which ended in the defeat and suicide of the usurper.

Anuradhapura again became the capital, and MUGALAN busied himself in restoring order. He converted the fortress at Sigiriya into a Vihara and bestowed it upon Mahanama, the priest who wrote the first part of the Mahavansa. To protect the island from sudden invasion guards were stationed along the sea coast. One of the King's adherents, Silakala, is said to have brought over from India a lock of Buddha's hair, which was treasured as a relic. Silakala ought to be remembered, for he married the king's sister, and afterwards himself became king.

Of KUMARADASA, Mugalan's son too little is known, for besides being a good ruler, he was distinguished as a poet. One of his poems, the *Janakiharana*, relates the story of Rama and Sita (*see p. 4.*), The king reigned nine years and then came to an untimely end. On the walls of a house which he used to visit at Matara, the king wrote two lines of an unfinished verse, adding underneath them a promise to reward any one who should complete the verse. At this time

there lived in Ceylon a poet named Kalidasa. We cannot be quite sure whether he was the famous Indian poet of that name or a native Sinhalese. But, whoever he was, he was one of the king's most intimate friends. Kalidasa happened to pass that way, saw the inscription, and at once wrote two suitable lines. A woman in the house who had observed these things, secretly murdered the poet and claimed the promised reward from the king. But Kumaradasa easily saw through the fraud, for the woman was certainly not able to write poetry; and when enquiries were made it was clearly proved that Kalidasa was murdered. The king's grief was overwhelming; and when the body of his friend was being consumed on the funeral pile Kumaradasa threw himself on it and so ended his own life. 524 A. D.

CHAPTER XVI.

Growth of Tamil Influence.

KUMARADASA was succeeded by his son KIRTISENA who reigned nine months only, for then his uncle SIVA killed him, and became king. But Siva reigned twenty-five days only, when his brother-in law, Upatissa put him to death and reigned. UPATISSA III took a great interest in Silakala, of whom we heard before in the reign of Mugalan I. He made this man his general, and gave him his daughter in marriage. But Silakala coveted the supreme power

UPATISSA III. 525 A.D.

for himself, and rebelled, against his master. Kasyapa the son of Upatissa, tried bravely to put down the rebellion, but being defeated in battle he killed himself. When Upatissa heard of his son's defeat and death, "he was struck down with grief as if shot by an arrow, and he died."

Silakala now gained his object and became king, ruling the country for thirteen years. Toward the close of his reign, however, he became a convert to the Vaitulyan heresy, which was greatly revived through his encouragement of it. On his death, his second son Dappula I seized the kingdom, but was soon defeated by his elder brother Mugalan II, who was very popular with his subjects, both because of his fame as a poet and because of the liberality and piety he displayed during his reign of twenty years. His son Kitsirime was a weak and indulgent ruler, Bribery prevailed everywhere, and the rich and powerful committed many acts of oppression on the helpless poor. Order was restored by Mahanaga, whose gifts to the priesthood were liberal, and who did much to restore the damaged Viharas and dagobas. His nephew Agbo I enjoyed a long reign of thirty-four years (564-598 A.D.) He is very highly praised by the historian as "surpassing the sun in glory, the full-orbed moon in gentleness, Mount Mera in firmness, the great ocean in depth, the earth in stability, the breeze in serenity"—-with much more of the same extravagant praise. But we shall not be surprised at this language if we consider that it must have been a relief to the people, after all the troubles of the last hundred years, to be ruled again by a king who, besides being devoted to his religion, could maintain order and

Agbo I. 564-598 A.D.

A.D.597. The King of Kent converted to Christianity by Augustine.

"free the island from all the thorns of strife." The Mihintale tank was his work, as also the Kurunde Vihara and tank. Poets flourished in his reign; and the Vaitulyans suffered defeat in a great controversy, when an elder named Jotipála championed the doctrines of the Mahavihara priests.

Ágbo II, the nephew and son-in-law of the first Agbo, built several tanks. The King of Kalinga (Orissa, *see p. 45*,) came to Ceylon during this reign, and became a priest under Jotipala. Agbo II. was succeeded by Sanghatissa II. After two months the latter was defeated and slain by Dala Mugalan, who, in his turn was after six years killed by Asigrahaka.

Agbo II. 598-608 A.D.

And now we begin to find frequent mention again made of the Tamils, who at first assisted various claimants to the throne, and in the end founded a settlement of their own in the north of Ceylon. In Asigrahaka's reign a Tamil army landed in the north of Ceylon to help Sirinaga, a brother of Sanghatissa II, to obtain the throne. In the fight that followed, Sirinaga was killed, the Tamils were defeated, and a number of them were made prisoners and given over as slaves to different Viharas. Agbo III, also known as Sirisangabo, reigned six months, and was then defeated in battle by Detutis, son of Sanghatissa II. But Detutis III reigned six months only; for Agbo fled to India, came to back with a large army of Tamils, and fought a great battle near the Kalawewa tank (A. D. 624). Here Detutis being defeated killed himself. Agbo then reigned again for sixteen years, but he was constantly disturbed by the rebellion of Dathopatissa I, who was

Agbo III.

assisted by the Tamils, and who at last succeeded in dethroning the King. Agbo fled to Ruhana, where he died while trying to raise an army to recover the throne. The Buddhist Viharas and dagobas were during these years of war and confusion shamefully plundered by the Tamils and even by some of the Sinhalese Kings. The images and ornaments of gold were melted down, the jewels carried away, the offerings taken, and the buildings pulled down. Meanwhile numbers of Sinhalese fled to India to escape from the disturbances in Ceylon.

Dathopatissa I was defeated by KASYAPA II, the younger brother of Agbo, and in his reign of nine years there was some attempt made to maintain order. The Tamils were expelled from the offices they held, and DAPPULA II, who ruled over Ruhuna, was appointed to reign over the whole island. But the Tamils plotted in favour of Hattha Datha, a nephew of Dathopatissa I, who without difficulty became King and reigned nine years under the title of DATHOPATISSA II, Dappula returning to Ruhuna when he died. For one week alone had he reigned at Anuradhapura, though at Ruhuna his reign lasted three years. Hattha Datha was succeeded by his brother AGBO IV., who during his reign of sixteen years "took a right view of things," that is, he was pious and liberal in his gifts to the Mahavihara. Several wealthy Tamils are said to have built houses of devotion for the Buddhists, and the Sinhalese chiefs throughout the Island built Viharas according to their means. Yet the last years of the King's life were spent at Polonnaruwa, and we cannot doubt that this was

AGBO IV. 673—679 A.D.

owing to distrust and fear of the Tamils who were making their power felt more widely. Indeed, when Agbo died, it was a Tamil general who really governed the country. This man, named Potthakuttha, set up two kings successively at Anuradhapura. These two were, indeed, called Kings, but the real power was in the Tamil general's hands. The second of them

MANAVAMMA 691—726 A.D.

was defeated and slain by MANAVAMMA (son of Kasyapa II) who had secured assistance from an Indian king. Potthakuttha fled for protection to a friendly chief who, however, poisoned himself to escape from the difficult position in which he was placed; for he feared the King, and yet would not be unfaithful to his friend. When the Tamil found this out he likewise took poison and died. Manavamma reigned thirty-five years and then gave place to AGBO V. whose pious example influenced the whole nation, and brought about a more careful observance of Buddhist rules. For a time it seemed as if confidence in the government restored, for KASYAPA III, the next ruler, is said to have compelled not only the priests of Buddhism, but even the Brahmans to observe their respective religious customs. MIHINDU I, his successor, was so distressed at the loss of a dear friend that he refused to wear the crown, or to take the royal name, though he performed all the duties of a king. His nephew reigned after him and took the name of AGBO VI. or AGBO SALAMEVAN. His reign of forty years was disturbed by two insurrections both of which were quickly put down. But it is during the next reign, that of AGBO VII (781—787 A. D.) the son of Mihindu I, that any fact of serious importance

A. D. 731. Bede's Ecclesiastical History finished.

POLONNARUWA. has to be noted; for it was this king who, from fear of the Tamils, first removed the capital from Anuradhapura to Polonnaruwa.

We have seen in this chapter how the Tamils steadily increased in power. Their armies took part in the contests between rival claimants of the throne and plundered the country, while many of them settled in Ceylon and acquired wealth and influence. Some rose to high positions in the government, while one at least was in fact though not in name the ruler of the island.

Their settlements became at length so numerous, their power so great, their attacks so dangerous, that the king was forced to give up his capital to them and to make his residence at Polonnaruwa a town some miles to the south-east of the old capital.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Fourth Tamil Invasion.

ON the death of Agbo VII there was some danger of fresh disorder in the island, for the king's son had died before his father. But Agbo's nephew prevented this by hastening to the capital and taking possession of it. No one had a better claim to the throne than this prince, who now reigned as MIHINDU II;

MIHINDU II. 787-807 A.D. but it needed all his care and effort to keep the government in his hands. First, the chiefs of the northern districts refused to pay the revenues collected by them;

then Agbo's queen formed a plot to kill Mihindu. These difficulties were easily overcome, but there was much more trouble with Prince Dappula the governor of Ruhuna. This prince was rich and powerful and made three separate attempts to wrest the government from Mihindu. On the first occasion Anuradhapura was beseiged; but though Dappula was defeated each time, yet, at last, Mihindu found it advisable to come to terms. A treaty was made by which the Kalu Ganga was fixed as the boundary between the possessions of Mihindu and Dappula,—the King holding all the country north of that river.

Anuradhapura was now again the capital of the Sinhalese Kings, but the new city of Polonnaruwa was by no means neglected. Viharas were erected, and Mihindu built there a splendid palace several stories high. The sacred buildings in the capital were also repaired, and the Tamils had now grown so powerful that the king even repaired their devalas, furnished them with images, and provided food for their priests.

DAPPULA III. 807 812 A.D.

DAPPULA III, the son of Mihindu, continued to keep order in the country and to maintain the national religion. But he deserves special notice for the hospital he built at Polonnaruwa and for the code of laws which he directed to be made. The decisions pronounced in lawsuits were collected and recorded in books, which were carefully kept in the King's house. Disputes were in this way prevented, and there was less chance of injustice and oppression.

Passing over the reign of MIHINDU III, whose piety caused him to be known as *Dharmika-Silamegha*—

Agbo VIII, 816-827 A.D.

Silemegha the Righteous, we come to Agbo VIII. who deserves to live in history as a noble example of filial love and devotion. "He was," says the *Mahavansa*, "constant in his attendance on his mother, both by day and night; and he was wont daily to wait on her and anoint her head with oil. The garments also which she had cast off he washed with his own hands, and sprinkled on his crowned head the water in which they were dipped. He made offerings of flowers and perfumes to her as at a shrine, and then bowed himself before her three times, and walked around her with great reverence, and commanded that her servants should be provided with meat and raiment, according to their desire, And afterwards he fed her from his own hands with dainty food, and himself ate of the remnants, whereof he scattered a portion on his own head. And after he had seen that her servants were fed with the best of the King's table, he perfumed and set in order her bed chamber, in which he had himself laid out her bed carefully with his own hands. And then he washed her feet and anointed them with soft and sweet-smelling oil, and set himself down by her side until sleep came over her. Then three times walked he round her bed with great reverence, and having made proper obeisance to her, he commanded her servants and slaves to keep watch over her. And when he departed from the bed-chamber he turned not his back upon her, but stepped backwards noiselessly till he could not be seen, and bowed again three times towards where she lay; and bringing to mind ofttimes the service he had done into his mother, he returned to his palace in great joy. In this self-same

manner did he serve his mother all the days of his life."

DAPPULA IV resided at a place called Beraminipaya, and the next king AGBO IX at Anuradhapura again. The Tamils were, we may imagine, not idle during this

SENA I
846-866
A.D.

time, and that this was the case becomes certain from the fact that SENA I (846-866) transferred the capital to Polonnaruwa where it remained for the next hundred and fifty years. In the reign of Sena I, occurred the fourth

FOURTH
TAMIL INVASION

great Tamil Invasion, when the king of Pandya (*see p. 7*) came over with a great army, ravaged all the north, and set up a fort at Mahapalagama. The Tamils in the island flocked to his standard, and the Sinhalese troops were defeated in a great battle. Sena in great terror collected all the treasure he could lay hand upon, and fled to the mountainous Malaya country. Two of the king's brothers, Mihindu and Kasyapa, attempted to keep back the invader, but they were defeated and Mihindu was slain. The Tamils now ravaged the country. Anuradhapura, the beautiful city, was plundered and left desolate. The jewels in the king's palace, the golden images which the piety of kings and princes had placed in Buddhist Viharas, the golden statue of Buddha that Mihindu II. had made, the gilt covering of the Thuparama dagoba, everything, in short, that was of any value whatever, was carried away by the victorious Pandyans. When at last the city and its neighbourhood had been laid waste, the Tamil king made a treaty with Sena and returned to India, while Sena resumed the sovereignty of Ceylon. But the ravages of the Tamils could not easily be forgotten, and brooding over them he passed away in the twentieth year of his reign.

It was reserved for his nephew SENA II to win back the lost honour of the Sinhalese nation. Sena was the son of that Kasyapa who had escaped with his life when Mihindu was killed, but who afterwards fell in battle with the invaders. He was determined on vengeance and prepared an army to go against the Tamils. It happened at this time that a disappointed prince of the Pandyan dynasty came to Ceylon for help or protection. Sena seized the opportunity, and sent a large force under the command of his chief general, with instructions to invade Madura and set the prince on the throne. Madura was beseiged and taken by storm ; the king of Pandya was killed ; the city was sacked and its inhabitants put to the sword. The treasures taken from Ceylon were recovered, and immense plunder was brought to the island by Sena's general who had successfully carried out his orders. It is said that the army brought also a new heresy from India, according to which priests had to wear blue robes instead of the traditional yellow.

SENA II. 866-901 A.D.

There was now rest, for a short interval, from fears of another Tamil attack, and Sena employed the time wisely in securing the country against future invasion, in building tanks, and in encouraging agriculture. Nor did he neglect the customary festivals or the liberal offerings to the Viharas.

A. D. 871-901. Reign of Alfred, King of England.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Civil Strife among the Sinhalese.

SENA was succeeded by UDAYA I, whose reign was disturbed by a serious rising under Kitu Agbo, who tried to form an independent kingdom in Ruhuna. The rebellion was crushed without much difficulty by Prince Mihindu, son of the sub-king, who from that time governed the country himself, and became a very popular ruler. When, however, KASYAPA IV (912-929 A.D.) came to the throne, Mihindu attempted to make himself king. He was defeated, but Kasyapa generously pardoned him and sent him back to Ruhuna as governor.

KASYAPA IV. 912-929 A.D.

The Tamils gave so little trouble in those days that the king was able to build hospitals both at Anuradhapura and at Polonnaruwa, as well as dispensaries at various places. His successor KASYAPA V (929-939 A.D.) is described as both a preacher and a doer of the Buddhist law. He rebuilt and adorned the Mirisaveti Vihara, originally set up by Dutugemunu, and now falling to decay.

KASYAPA V. 929-939 A.D.

But though free for the time from the Tamils, there was little chance of any lasting improvement in the affairs of the country, for the Sinhalese chiefs were continually warring among themselves. Civil strife did them more harm, perhaps, than foreign invasion. Kasyapa V was evidently well able to keep order in his kingdom, for we hear of no disturbances during his reign. He was even strong enough to send a great army to India to help the king of Pandya against his

rival the king of Chola (Tanjore, *see p. 20*), but the army was forced to return without accomplishing its object in consequence of a terrible disease that prevailed in the Cholian country and killed the Sinhalese general and large numbers of his men. Of the next king, Dappula V. we know little, but in the reign of Dappula VI the Pandyan King fled to Ceylon after a great battle with the King of Chola, and was received in Ceylon with every mark of honour. Dappula prepared to give him assistance; but the fierce dissensions among the Sinhalese chiefs made this impossible, and the Pandyan King returned to his country greatly disappointed. Udaya II. irritated the chiefs by his cruel conduct and was for a time a fugitive at Ruhuna. Sena III. peacefully followed the old customs, restored Viharas and tanks, celebrated the festivals, and was liberal in his charity. But Udaya III. was an indolent man, and the King of Chola took advantage of this to invade Ceylon on the pretence of getting back the crown and robes which the Pandyan King had left behind with Dappula VI. The army which should have repelled the Tamils was at this time engaged in putting down a revolt in some of the provinces. When at last it met the Tamils it was defeated, and the King fled, as usual to Ruhuna, whither the Tamils were then afraid to follow him. Another Sinhalese army was now raised, and the Tamils were driven back. Sena IV. was a learned man. Mihindu IV. married a Kalinga princess, but this did not prevent another attack from

Dappula VI.
940-952
A. D.

Udaya III.
964-972
A.D.

Fifth Tamil
Invasion.

Mihindu IV.
975-991
A.D.

India. Still, he did not fare badly; for when Vallabha, the Cholian King, sent an army to the north of Ceylon, Mihindu's general utterly defeated him and so made the people of India respect the valour of the Sinhalese forces. Mihindu went a step further than previous kings in his piety; he made a law that lands belonging to the Viharas were henceforth not to be taxed. But the districts on the borders of Mayaratta were continually in revolt. SENA V., only twelve years old when he became King, sent his Prime Minister, (who was also Regent) against them, and in his absence appointed another chief to be Prime Minister. This caused the Regent to rebel. The king fled to Ruhuna. and the Regent allowed the Tamils to plunder the country while he himself stayed at Polonnaruwa. Shortly after, the Regent and the king were reconciled; but the latter, led away by evil advisers, gave himself up to habits of intemperance, and died a drunkard in the tenth year of his reign.

MIHINDU V. 1001-1037 A.D.

MIHINDU V. was able to remove the capital to Anuradhapura, where for twelve years he remained, though in great dis-comfort. He probably kept the Tamils in his pay; but since the provinces as usual withheld the revenues which they ought to have paid the king, his treasury was exhausted, and the Tamils rose in arms to demand the wages due to them. On this the king fled secretly to Ruhuna, where he kept up some show of authority for twenty-four years, while the Tamils and others did as they pleased in the surrounding districts. News of this was taken to the King of Chola, who promptly sent a large army to Ceylon. Ruhuna was entered; the King and

Queen were taken captive, and with all their treasures sent to Chola, where the king died twelve years after,

Interregnum 1037-1049 A.D.

that is, forty-eight years after his coronation; while throughout the island the devastations of the Tamils went on unchecked. During these twelve years a Viceroy of the King of Chola ruled at Polonnaruwa.

TABLE

Showing Kings of the Suluvansa or Lower Dynasty from 304 to 1037 A.D.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign
		A.D.		Years.
54	Sri Méghavarna or Sirime-van	304	Anurádhapura	28
55	Detutis II.	332	〃	9
56	Buddhadása	341	〃	29
57	Upatissa II.	370	〃	42
58	Mahánáma	412	〃	22
59	Sotthi Séna	434	〃	1 day
60	Chattagáhaka	434	〃	1
61	Mitta Séna	435	〃	1
62	*Six Tamil Kings*	436	〃	25
63	Dhátu Séna	461	〃	18
64	Kásyapa I.	479	〃 and Sigiriya	18
65	Mugalan I.	497	Anurádhapura	18
66	Kumáradása or Dhatuséna	515	〃	9
67	Kirti Séna	524	〃	9 mths.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign
		A.D.		Years.
68	Síva	524	Anuradhapura.	·25 days
69	Upatissa III.	525	"	1½
70	Silákála	526	"	13
71	Dappula I.	539	"	6 mths.
72	Mugalan II.	540	"	20
73	Kitsirimé or Kírti Srí Megha	560	"	19 days
74	Mahánága	561	"	3
75	Agbó or Agrabódhi I.	564	"	34
76	Agbó or Agrabódhi II.	598	"	10
77	Sanghatissa II.	608	"	2 mths.
78	Dala Mugalan	608	"	6
79	Asigráhaka	614	"	9
80	Agbó or Agrabódhi III. (or Siri Sangabó II.)	623	"	6 mths.
81	Detutis III	623	"	6 mths.
80	Agbó or Agrabódhi III *(restored)*	624	"	16

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign.
		A.D.		
82	Dáthópatissa I	640	Anuradhapura	12
83	Kásyapa II	652	″	9
84	Dappula II	661	″ and Ruhuna	3
85	Dáthopatissa II (Hattha Dátha I)	664	Anuradhapura	9
86	Agbó or Agrabódhi IV or Siri Sangabó III	673	″	16
87	Datta	689	″	2
88	Hattha Dátha II or Hunamaru Riyandala	691	″	6 mths.
89	Mánavamma or Mahalépána	691	″	35
90	Agbó or Agrabódhi V	726	″	6
91	Kasyapa III	732	″	6
92	Mihindu I	738	″	3
93	Agbó Salamevan or Agrabódhi VI	741	″	40
94	Agbó or Agrabódhi VII	781	Polonnaruwa	6
95	Mihindu II	787	Anuradhapura	20

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign*
		A.D.		
96	Dappula III	807	Anuradhapura.	5
97	Mihindu III	812	"	4
98	Agbó or Agrabódhi VIII	816	"	11
99	Dappula IV	827	Beramini-páya	16
100	Agbó or Agrabódhi IX	843	Anuradhapura	3
101	Séna I (Silá Mégha)	846	Polonnaruwa	20
102	Séna II	866	"	35
103	Udaya I	901	"	11
104	Kasyapa IV	912	"	17
105	Kasyapa V	929	"	10
106	Dappula V	939	"	7 mths.
107	Dappula VI	940	"	12
108	Udaya II	952	"	3
109	Séna III	955	"	9
110	Udaya III	964	"	8
111	Séna IV	972	"	3
112	Mihindu IV	975	"	16
113	Séna V	991	"	10
114	Mihindu V	1001	Anuradhapura	36

CHAPTER XIX.

Vijaya Bahu I. A.D. 1065-1120.

MIHINDU V. was a captive in India, but the Sinhalese, anxious to preserve the ancient royal line, took his infant son, Kasyapa, to Ruhuna and there carefully hid him from the Tamils. Frequent encounters took place between the Sinhalese and the Tamils, in which the latter were sometimes defeated. They were, at all events, obliged to confine their authority to Polonnaruwa and its neighbourhood. The Sinhalese kept Ruhuna to themselves. Prince Kasyapa died young, and the government of Ruhuna fell into the hands of usurpers, six of whom reigned in succession. King KIRTI reigned eight days only, and was then put to death by MAHALANA KIRTI, who in the third year of his reign killed himself on being defeated by the Cholians. VIKUM (OR VIKRAMA) PANDI next ruled for one year with Kalutara as his capital. He was killed by JAGAT PALA who ruled four years in Ruhuna and was slain by the Cholians. After him PERAKUM reigned two years and died in the same way, being succeeded by his general, or prime minister, LOKESVARA who reigned six years at Kataragama.

LOKESVARA 1059-1065 A.D.

A determined effort was now made to expel the Tamils and restore the Sinhalese sovereignty. The movement was headed by Kirti, a proud and brave prince who was descended from Mihindu v. In vain did Lokésvara attempt to check the growing power of this new leader, who, at length, on Lokésvara's

death in 1065, ascended the throne taking the title of

VIJAYA BAHU I.

VIJAYA BAHU I. Vijaya Bahu reigned for fifty-five years (1065-1120 A. D.), but his reign was not altogether a peaceful one, and, as we shall see, it was followed by another period of disorder in the land.

The king himself was one of the greatest of Sinhalese rulers. He had two objects in view. One was the expulsion of the Tamils ; the other, the restoration of Buddhism, which had suffered heavily during the ascendancy of the invaders. The Tamils still held Raja-ratta, the king's country, that portion of the island which lay north and west of the Mahavili Ganga. A large army of Cholians now advanced against Vijaya Bahu; but he knew that he was as yet not able to fight a decisive battle, and therefore retired from Kataragama to one of the hill fortresses. For one thing, the king had not money enough for a long and difficult war. To remedy this defect, an embassy was was sent to Aramanna (a province of Burma) for assistance. As the Burmese also were Buddhists they sent valuable gifts to their co-religionists in Ceylon. The king's treasury was thus supplied, and his energy and determination gave the Sinhalese people courage to resist the Cholians. They began by refusing to pay the taxes demanded by the officers of the Cholian king, and a war followed in consequence. The Sinhalese in Raja-ratta were subdued by the Tamils, but Ruhuna was still in Vijaya Bahu's hands and there the Tamils were severely beaten. Encouraged by this victory the king entered Polonnaruwa at the head of a great army; but a fresh body of Tamils advanced against him, and in a battle near Anuradha-

A.D. 1066 William the Conqueror invaded England

pura he was defeated and was again forced to retire to the hills, where he could hold his own against attack. Then the king had to contend against a rebellion among some of his own people. This was put down, and soon after large forces were raised to attempt once more the conquest of the Cholians. Fortress after fortress fell into Vijaya's hands, and the Cholians in despair collected at Polonnaruwa, which, after a long and heavy siege, was at last taken. The king of Chola did not care to make any further attempt against Vijaya. "Now are the Sinhalese powerful," said he, when he heard of the destruction of his hosts.

Vijaya Bahu entered Anuradhapura in the fifteenth year of his reign, A.D. 1080; but some years later he made Polonnaruwa his capital. He had great trouble in his efforts to restore order in the country, for more than one serious revolt broke out in his reign. However, justice began to be better administered; taxes were more fairly distributed; the defences of the city were set in order; the poor, and even dumb animals, were provided with food. Poets flocked to his court and were well rewarded, for the king himself was skilled in making songs.

Revival of Buddhism

The havoc made by the Tamils was so great that everywhere in Ceylon Buddhism was fast losing its hold on the people. Vijaya Bahu found that the number of priests in the country was exceedingly small—too few, indeed, for the plan he had in mind of restoring Buddhism. Another embassy was therefore sent to Burma (this time for a different purpose) and Buddhist monks of great piety were brought over. These ordained large

numbers of priests in Ceylon, and a great revival of Buddhism followed. Many new Viharas were built and old ones repaired. Offerings of food and land were liberally bestowed on the priests, and neglected festivals were again celebrated with something of the old splendour. The Buddhist doctrines were regularly preached, the Threefold Collection and their commentaries (*see p. 32*) being frequently read. We find also that the king granted a village abounding in rice-fields to provide food for those who journeyed to Adam's Peak to worship the footprint there. With all this we note that the Hindu Devalas were maintained as before, and the accustomed offerings to them continued to be given.

In the thirtieth year of the king's reign an army was prepared to be sent against the Cholians on account of some insult that the King of Chola had offered to Vijaya's ambassadors; but a band of hired soldiers employed by the king rebelled, and succeeded in taking Polonnaruwa. For a time it seemed as if the king's crown was again in danger. But Vijaya's courage did not fail. The city was retaken, and the rebellious chiefs terribly punished. Fifteen years later, he renewed the attempt to make war on the Cholian King, but as the latter did not care to fight in Ceylon, Vijaya returned to Polonnaruwa.

The King was twice married—first to the Princess Lilawati a daughter of Jagat Pala who reigned in A. D. 1053. We shall have occasion to mention again one of the two granddaughters (Lilavati and Sugala) of this princess. Vijaya Bahu's second queen was a Kalinga princess who bore the king five daughters and a son afterwards known as Vikrama Bahu I.

A. D. 1096. The First Crusade against the Saracens.

CHAPTER XX.

A Time of Disorder.

BUT when Vijaya Bahu I. died (A. D. 1120), his son was at Ruhuna, and JAYA BAHU I. (a brother of the late king) seized the crown. Vikrama Bahu was not, however to be easily kept out of his rights. He fought six battles against his uncle whom he at length drove into Ruhuna, and then he himself reigned as VIKRAMA BAHU I.

THE KINGS OF RUHUNA.

At this time Ruhuna was governed by the king's cousins, and about them it is necessary that we should know something more. Mitta, the sister of Vijaya Bahu I. and of Jaya Bahu I, had three sons; (1) *Manabharana*, who married Ratanavali, daughter of Vijaya Bahu I, and was the father of a prince who afterwards reigned as Parakrama Bahu the Great; (2) *Kirti Sri Megha*, who married a sister of Ratanavali; and (3) *Sri Vallabha*, who married *Sugala* a grand-daughter of Vijaya Bahu I. When Vikrama Bahu became king, Manabharana took over the government of Ruhuna while his brothers served under him.

It must be remembered that Ruhuna was seldom under the actual control of the King of Lanka. There were really two, or rather four, kings in Ceylon in these times of confusion—Vikrama Bahu, and the the three kings of Ruhuna—and these four kings did not care to maintain order in any way. They broke through all the well-established customs of the country. Vikrama Bahu not only oppressed his subjects with

BUDDHISM OVERTHROWN

heavy and unjust taxes, but even attempted to destroy Buddhism by

plundering the treasures in the Viharas, and giving away to his favourites the lands that former kings had given to Buddhism. The indignant priests took with them what sacred relics they could hurriedly collect, and wandered over the Ruhuna country staying wherever they could find shelter. Hired troops, probably Tamils, robbed and plundered in the villages and on the highways, while families of high rank were compelled to hide themselves to escape being put to death. Tanks were broken down, private quarrels were decided by the sword, and throughout the land of Lanka there was the cry of ruin and destruction. "Thus lived these lords of the land.......They felt not the dignity of kings; and though placed in high offices of trust, wherein they might seek their own good and the good of others, yet lacked they even noble ambition."

In the midst of this confusion Manabharana died, and Kirti Sri Megha became chief ruler of Ruhuna. After a reign of twenty-one years Vikrama Bahu died, and his son GAJA BAHU II. reigned at Polonnaruwa. His first work was to assert his authority by putting down an insurrection raised by the Ruhuna Kings. The rest of his reign of twenty-two years is really the story of Parakrama Bahu's doings and may be related in connection with that prince.

GAJA BAHU II.
1142-1164

A.D. 1154 Henry II. became King of England
,, 1164 The Constitutions of Clarendon.

CHAPTER XXI.

Parakrama's Early Life.

PARAKRAMA Bahu, the king who became so famous in the history of Ceylon, was born at Sankhatthali, now known as Alupota, a village not far from Badulla. He was the son of Manabharana, the Governor of Ruhuna. On his mother's side he was the grandson of Vijaya Bahu I. and cousin to the reigning king, Gaja Bahu. At his birth it was predicted, so the historians tell us, that he would be a great conqueror and prosperous in his undertakings, and the name PARAKRAMA BAHU, *(He whose arm defends others)* was given to him.

PARAKRAMA'S CHARACTER

The prince was ambitious from his very youth. He was vexed at the narrow limits of the kingdom in which he was born, and eagerly desired to be sole ruler, in due time, of the whole island. With all his ambition he was remarkably prudent and cautious. Brave and strong by nature, he practised himself in all the studies and accomplishments of a royal prince, in dancing, music, riding, and hunting, in the use of the sword and the bow, and in the science and art of war. He was fond of sport, and dearly loved a jest. He studied grammar and delighted in poetry; he also made himself well acquainted with the doctrines and customs of his religion. These acquirements were very necessary to him, for he had planned a vast design and was determined to carry it out in spite of all difficulties. The land needed a firm and wise ruler after the troublous times that had passed.

Here if anywhere the proper man was found, a prince whose mind was stirred by the recollection of ancient deeds of chivalry and daring, of the courage of the Buddha, the valour of Rama, the strength in battle of the five Pandava princes, the wisdom of Canakka the Brahman; a prince who knew the weakness of his country and the causes of its decay; who to the dignity of royal birth added the grace of literary culture, and in whom was united great personal courage and conspicuous skill in the conduct of war.

But with all his ability, the grandeur of his aims, and the brilliant success of his efforts to improve his native country, it must be confessed that the methods employed by Parakrama were not always worthy of praise. He could be generous and forgiving when it suited him, but he was also unscrupulous and ungrateful when his schemes were interfered with. This will appear as we follow out his history.

PARAKRAMA'S FIRST EXPEDITION

Parakrama's first expedition was against the village of Badalatthali (Badulla?) which was held by a general named Sankha for the governor of Ruhuna. The prince was kindly welcomed, but the general suspected that he had come without Kirti Sri Megha's knowledge, and secretly sent messengers to Kirti Sri Megha to inform him of the fact. Parakrama discovered this and caused Sankha to be slain. The tumult that arose among the general's men was immediately quelled, and the village was given up to plunder. Large numbers of people now supported Parakrama whose daring excited their admiration, and all the forces sent by Kirti Sri Megha to seize his rebellious nephew

were easily defeated. The prince shortly came to the country governed by King Gaja Bahu, and was received by the King at Polonnaruwa with affection and honour. But the consideration shown to him was ill repaid. While enjoying Gaja Bahu's hospitality, Parakrama sent his spies into every village to find out the feelings of the people and the condition of the country. Some of his spies went disguised as snake-charmers, others as musicians, as fortune-tellers, as pedlars, as merchants, as physicians, as monks and pilgrims. He himself pretended to be stupid and childish, and moved freely among the people, gaining their goodwill by lavish gifts and kindly words. In this way he learnt all that he required to know.

PARAKRAMA MEETS GAJA BAHU

This went on till Gaja Bahu grew jealous of the praises bestowed by his subjects on the prince. The latter was wise enough to see that nothing could be gained by an immediate conflict, and returned to his uncle who was readily reconciled to him. Kirti Sri Megha died soon after; and Parakrama now became Governor of Ruhuna.

CHAPTER XXII.

How Parakrama became King of Lanka.

GAJA BAHU the King and Manabharana, who ruled a portion of Ruhuna, were duly informed by Parakrama of the latter's accession to the throne of

his father. Parakrama now saw that the time had come for him to attempt the great object of his life, and he immediately began to make preparation for war. He first collected a large amount of grain,

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

which he heaped in numerous granaries within his dominions. Extensive tracts of land were brought under irrigation and formed into rice-fields. Old and ruined tanks were cleared and new tanks built. Canals were also cut to supply the tanks with water. Then the army was reorganised. There were companies of Tamils, and probably of Veddahs, besides the Sinhalese who formed the great body of the army. To train them for the war, Parakrama used to practise the soldiers in mock battles fought in the streets. The treasury required attention, for without money nothing could be done, and the total sum collected in Ruhuna was insufficient for Parakrama's object. By careful supervision of the revenue and by the export of gems, the ministers were able to amass large sums of money without imposing oppressive taxes on the people. Lastly, the Malaya district (what is now known as the Kandyan country) was brought under subjection. The general in charge of that district held his office from Gaja Bahu; but Parakrama persuaded him to be unfaithful to his master.

The war against Gaja Bahu was fiercely carried on. City after city, fort after fort, fell into the hands of

POLONNARUWA TAKEN

Parakrama's captains. Anuradhapura was taken, and so was Polonnaruwa, the capital. Gaja Bahu was made prisoner and confined in his palace, but treated with all respect and consideration till a meeting could

be arranged with Parakrama. Before however, the latter could arrive at Polonnaruwa, a great riot took place there, caused by the misconduct of the victorious army. Gaja Bahu's ministers were enraged, and invited Manabharana to come over from his lordship in Ruhuna to fight on the King's behalf. He accepted the invitation, and so intense was the anger against Parakrama's army that the people rose on all sides and defeated it. Manabharana waited a few days after his victory, and then his real design became plain to everybody. He put to death Gaja Bahu's officers, seized all his treasures, and attempted to kill the king secretly by starvation or by poison. Gaja Bahu himself now implored Parakrama to deliver him. Parakrama sent him assistance and set him at liberty; but finding soon after that the King could not be trusted, he compelled Gaja Bahu to make over the Kingdom to him.

Manabharana, who had fled to Ruhuna, made one more attempt to prevent Parakrama's accession to the throne. The attempt did not succeed. Polonnaruwa was again taken after a seven days' battle, and Parakrama became King of Lanka. A. D. 1164.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Reign of Parakrama.

PARAKRAMA was now the most powerful ruler in Ceylon. He had gained one of the great ends for which he had striven. He was no longer a petty

chief in Ruhuna, but, in name at least, the supreme lord of Lanka, fearing no rival or enemy. But he had still other work to do before he could bring the whole Sinhalese country under his sole rule, or, as the historian expresses it, "under one canopy of dominion." While he was engaged in restoring the cities of Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura to their former grandeur, the chiefs of Ruhuna were busy stirring up a rebellion in that district. Manabharana was dead, but they found a suitable leader in his mother, the princess Sugali, who took a very active part against Parakrama, and who stubbornly held out against the royal forces sent to put down the rebellion. When this warfare was ended, it became necessary to attend to a war of greater consequence.

Aramanna and Cambodia

We have seen that Buddhist priests were invited, and came to Ceylon in the reign of Vijaya Bahu I, when there were very few priests in the island. The foreigners were from Aramanna, a province of Burma between Siam and Arakan. An ancient friendship existed between that country and Ceylon (both being Buddhist in religion), but in Parakrama's reign this friendship was disturbed by the actions of the King of Aramanna who was also, perhaps, the ruler of Cambodia. For some reason or other he began to annoy and ill-treat the Sinhalese people, who lived in his country. He forbade the export of elephants and all trade with Ceylon. He plundered the Sinhalese merchants who visited his dominions, and shamefully insulted Parakrama's ambassadors. Besides these hostile acts, he violently seized a princess who was travelling from Ceylon to the continent.

Parakrama was not a king who could lightly endure these insults, and he quickly fitted out an expedition to punish his enemy. A Tamil general named Adikaram was placed in command of the forces. He soon arrived in Cambodia slew the King, entered his capital, and proclaimed the supreme authority of Parakrama over that country. This happened about 1180 A. D.

PANDYA AND CHOLA.

The kingdoms of Pandya and Chola had often, as we have seen, supplied invading armies which wrought much havoc in Ceylon, and we shall not be surprised to learn that Parakrama next turned his attention to these enemies. Their united forces could not resist the army he sent against them. The island of Rameswaram was captured and made a province of Ceylon. Battle after battle was fought and won in the Pandyan kingdom by Parakrama's general, Lankapura, and city after city fell into his hands. Madura the Capital was entered, its king expelled, and another king appointed who was to reign (like the king of Cambodia) as a tributary of the king of Ceylon. The Chola country also was laid waste; a city was founded within its borders in honour of Parakrama ; and money was coined bearing the name of the Sinhalese King.

We must now turn to Parakrama's doings in his own kingdom of Lanka. We have seen how he improved his own division of Ruhuna when he became its governor on the death of Kirti Sri Megha ; how he drained marshes, cut canals, and changed large tracts of neglected land into valuable rice-fields; and how he built granaries where rice was stored in immense quantities. Now that Parakrama had succeeded to a

A. D. 1189 The Third Crusade.

more important government, his improvements were on a larger scale, and they were certainly what we might have expected of so great a king. He made his name famous in foreign countries, but he did not omit to improve and adorn his own.

The Sinhalese were burdened with heavy and unjust taxes that had been imposed by former kings.

DOMESTIC REFORMS

Parakrama gave orders that taxes should in future be fairly collected and that the people should not be oppressed by the collectors. The laws were carefully administered. The poor were liberally fed. Hospitals were built and physicians maintained. The great families that had been ruined and driven into concealment through the frequent disturbances in the country, were now restored to their positions. Much was done for the Buddhist religion, and much indeed had to be done. Heresies

BUDDHISM

had multiplied, the monks had grown selfish and worldly, and the three great brotherhoods-the Maha Vihara, the Abhayagiri Vihara, and the Jetavanarama Vihara—were divided by bitter differences of custom and doctrine. Parakrama called together a council in which a great discussion was held and steps were at once taken to purify Buddhism. The monks who lived evil lives were expelled; and though the brotherhoods could not be fully reconciled to one another we cannot doubt that a more friendly spirit was established.

When we turn to the public buildings by which

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Parakrama sought to beautify his kingdom we are astonished at their number and greatness. His parks and gardens were royally laid out, and supplied with ponds and

bathing-halls, with ornamented mansions and every thing, indeed, that was beautiful and pleasant. Images of Buddha were set up, and Viharas built or repaired in many districts. Over a thousand tanks are reported to have been built by his orders, and numerous canals were dug to convey water to them. The "Sea of Parakrama" was a remarkable example of the king's daring and wisdom. A canal starting from the Ambaganga River at Ellahara, near Matale, connected Minneriya, Kantalai, and several other large tanks. This canal was a hundred miles long, and was not only of considerable help to irrigation but it proved also a convenient waterway for boats conveying produce. To the whole extent of water thus united the name, "Sea of Parakrama," was given.

The principal buildings of Anuradhapura were put into repair, and several other cities were given proper attention. But it was Polonnaruwa that the king delighted in most, and that he most zealously sought to enlarge and to adorn. By his orders the city was surrounded with fortifications, and with ramparts four leagues long and seven leagues broad. A richly decorated palace, seven stories high, was built there, and among the other buildings may be mentioned a theatre, a hall of recreation, and temples for the Brahmans.

Parakrama's reign extended over thirty-three years (1164—1197 A.D.). It was a reign of peace and progress; and we cannot hesitate to admit that no king of Ceylon more truly deserved to be called "the Great."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Another Tamil Invasion.

FOR fifty-three years (1197—1250 A. D.) after the death of Parakrama the Great there was no ruler of Ceylon who can be regarded as a worthy successor to him. Those years were, for the most part, a time of trouble and disorder, and we need do no more than glance at the most important incidents.

VIJAYA BAHU II, the nephew and successor of Parakrama, was a poet and a Pali scholar of some merit. He was less stern and severe than his uncle in dealing with his subjects but not less just. He brought about a good understanding with Aramanna by asking the king of that country to decide some religious dispute, and thus restored the old friendship that existed between Aramanna and Ceylon. Vijayabahu reigned, however, for only one year, when he was put to death by MIHINDA VI. This usurper was, after a reign of five days, killed by KIRTI NISSANKA MALLA, a prince of great renown, descended from one of the Sinhalese chiefs who had taken refuge in Kalinga. He rebuilt many ruined Viharas, and set up several statues of Buddha. Inscriptions even now found in various parts of the island bear witness to his fame, and a great stone lion on which the king's throne rested, may still be seen in the museum in Colombo, where it was placed in very recent times.

ARAMANNA 1197—1198 A.D.

The rulers of Ceylon for the next fifteen years (1207—1222 A. D.) require no special mention. We may note, however that two queens reigned during

A. D. 1215 Magna Charta signed.

that period. One was LILAVATI, the widow of Parakrama the Great. She reigned three times, and was thrice dethroned. The other queen was KALYANAVATI, the widow of Kirti Nissanka Malla, who reigned for six years.

When Lilavati was for the third and last time reigning over Ceylon, the island was overrun by an army of Pandyans whose leader dethroned the queen, and reigned under the name of PARAKRAMA PANDU. But after three years he was in his turn displaced by MAGHA, a Tamil prince from Kalinga, who invaded Ceylon with an army of 20,000 men. Magha's invasion appears to have been more merciless than any previous Tamil attack. The Sinhalese were robbed of all their possessions, and many of them were tortured to make them confess where their wealth was hidden. Dágobas and Viháras were laid in ruins. The priests and their assistants were insulted and beaten. The mass of the inhabitants were treated as slaves and compelled to serve their new masters. Many Sinhalese books were destroyed, and the people were either bribed or forced to give up Buddhism and to adopt the religion of their conquerors. So terrible was this invasion that it was regarded by the Sinhalese as the punishment sent upon them by the gods for their previous neglect of religion.

MAGHA THE TAMIL 1225 A.D.

Magha reigned for twenty one years (1225—1246 A.D.), but scattered throughout the mountain districts there were yet cities and villages which the Tamil invader could not bring within his power, and fortresses which his armies could not overcome. One of these was Yapahu in the Seven Korales, where a Sinhalese chief built a fort. Another was Damba-

YAPAHU

deniya, a city fity miles north-east of Colombo, where Vijaya Bahu, a prince of the Sinhalese royal line, still kept up a show of royal authority. Step by step this prince extended his authority until the Tamils were driven out of Maya Ratta and Ruhuna, and forced to confine themselves to the northern parts of the island. Buddhism was once again triumphant. The sacred books were transcribed afresh, disputes among the priests were settled, and many new priests were ordained.

CHAPTER XXV.

Parakrama Bahu II. 1250—1285 A.D.

VIJAYA Bahu II. was succeeded in 1250 A. D. by his son, PARAKRAMA BAHU II, whose extensive learning gained for him the name of "the all-knowing Pandit." Early in his reign the Tamils were driven farther north, after a fierce battle at the Kalawewa tank in which the invaders suffered heavily; and on two separate occasions the king defeated a band of Malays who had landed in Ceylon from Java, and laid waste a great part of the island. These victories were sufficient proof that the king was a skilful warrior, like his namesake, Parakrama the Great. Indeed, his alliance was much desired by the kings of Pandya and Chola.

MALAY INVASION

Parakrama Bahu II. was now able to turn his attention to the improvement of the kingdom. His first

care was to restore lands, houses, and fields to their proper owners, and to mark out the boundaries of each. The lands belonging to the priesthood were in the same way restored. New priests were brought over from India, where they had taken refuge, while the priests and students in Ceylon who lived evil lives, or were in other ways unsuitable, were expelled from the monasteries. He directed, further that those priests who remained should be taught more carefully in the doctrines of their religion, in logic and grammar also, and in other sciences.

The king's buildings are chiefly notable because they were distributed over so large an area. We read of Viharas and temples, either newly built or splendidly repaired and enlarged, at places so distant from one another as Kurunegala, Kelaniya, Gampola, Dambadeniya, Bentota and Dondra. At Atanagalla, where Gothabhaya (*see p. 38*) had built a Vihara in memory of Siri Sangabo I, Parakrama built a shrine and image-house. Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa were cleared of forest and made habitable. Dambadeniya, his father's capital and his own, he fortified and adorned. Afterwards, he did honour to his birthplace by building there a great Vihara to which he removed the tooth relic with great ceremony. To this place the title of Sirivardhanapura was given,

SIRIVARDHANAPURA,

and, till not long ago, it was wrongly supposed that the town of Kandy was referred to by this title. But the birthplace of Parakrama was Nambambaraya, a little town six or seven miles from Dambadeniya.

The mention of these cities so far apart from one another proves that Parakrama had gained control

A. D. 1265 Simon de Montfort killed at Evesham.

over the greater part of the island, while the Tamils had, for the time, to be content with their settlements in the north. That the King was free from their assaults is shown by the large number of bridges he made in various parts of the country, and by the roads (among them one to the top of Adam's Peak) which he cleared and improved. It is shown also by the attention paid to Buddhism and by the great encouragement given to education and literature. About this time, a learned priest, named Dharmakirti, enlarged the *Mahavansa* (*see p. 51*) by adding the history of Ceylon from the death of Mahasen to the reign of Parakrama Bahu II.

CHAPTER XXVI.

From 1285 A. D. to 1505 A. D.

POLONNARUWA was the capital of VIJAYA BAHU IV who succeeded his father Parakrama Bahu II; but he was murdered after a reign of two years by his minister Mitrasena, who attempted to take the government into his own hands. Vijaya's brother, BHUVANEKA BAHU I, fled, meanwhile, to the city of Yapahu in seven Korales, and in a very short time contrived to

YAPAHU

secure the death of the usurper. Yapahu was now the capital, but even that city was not safe from foreign invasion. An army of Pandyans sent by Kulasekara, King of Pandya, under the command of a general, named Ariya Chakkravarti,

entered Yapahu, and took away the tooth relic with other treasures to India. The relic was afterwards recovered by the next king, PARAKRAMA BAHU III, who visited Kulusekara in Pandya and persuaded him to give it back. Parakrama Bahu III reigned at Polonnaruwa, but on his death BHUVANEKA BAHU II made Kurunegala the capital. And so, after more than four hundred and fifty years, Polonnaruwa finally lost its proud claim to be the royal city; for never again was it the capital of Ceylon.

POLONNARUWA

PARAKRAMA BAHU IV became king in 1305 A. D. and during his reign caused temples and other sacred buildings to be erected, chiefly in the south of Ceylon. He was fond of literature and himself wrote a book on the tooth relic. But of greater importance was the translation into Sinhalese of the *Jatakas* or five hundred and fifty "birth stories" of Buddha. The Jatakas were orginally written in Pali, and the translation was made by a priest from the Cholian country.

The next two kings also reigned at Kurunegala, but in 1347 A.D. BHUVANEKA BAHU IV. made Gampola his capital. Gampola continued to hold this position under the next two kings, PARAKRAMA BAHU V. and VIKRAMA BAHU III. In the reign of the latter, his prime minister, Alagakkonara or Alakesvara, who lived at Peradeniya, went farther west and built the city of Jayawardhana-Kotté, now known as Cotta or Kotté. The Tamils of Jaffna (for by this time the Tamil settlements in the north had been formed into a Kingdom, with Jaffna as the capital) came again under Ariya Chakkravarti

ALAKESVARA.

A. D. 1295. First Complete Parliament in England. Edward I.
„ 1346. Battle of Crecy. Edward III.

to harass the Sinhalese. Colombo, Negombo, and Chilaw were occupied, and the Sinhalese were forced to pay an annual tribute to the king of Jaffna. But Alakesvara not long afterwards won a great victory over the Tamils, and there was no more paying of tribute to them.

Vikrama Bahu III. was succeded by BHUVANEKA BAHU V. who reigned from 1378 to 1398 A. D. with his capital at Kotté. This king seems to have been no other than Alakesvara (or Alagakkonara) himself, who took the name of Bhuvaneka Bahu V. on his accession to the throne. But the point is not quite settled.

In 1405 A. D. a Chinese general landed in Ceylon,

CHINESE INVASION

bringing incense and offerings to be laid at the shrine of Buddha: for the Chinese also were Buddhists. The general was however, shamefully insulted by the Sinhalese king VIRA BAHU II. (known also as *Vijaya Bahu)* and it was with difficulty he succeeded in escaping to his ship. In 1408 A. D. he returned to avenge the insult. The King and Queen with many others were taken prisoners to China, but the Chinese Emperor compassionately restored them to liberty on condition that the crown of Ceylon should be taken from Vira Bahu and given to the "wisest" of his family. PARAKRAMA BAHU VI. was thereupon appointed King (1410 A. D.), and for the next fifty years Ceylon paid tribute to China.

Parakrama Bahu VI. reigned fifty two years. He brought the tooth relic to Kotté, his capital, and

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A. D. 1349 the Black Death.
,, 1428 Siege of Orleans. Henry VI.
,, 1453 Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks.

gave great encouragement to Buddhism. The Tamils in the north had their power completely broken, and Jaffna was reduced to a province under the rule of the Sinhalese King. These facts show that there was again a strong and wise ruler in Ceylon. We may note also that the greatest of Sinhalese poets, Totagamuvé Sri Rahula, lived in this reign. He was a priest and a favourite with the king, to whose household he belonged before he became a priest.

CONQUEST OF JAFFNA

After JAYA BAHU II. and BHUVANEKA BAHU VI, the next two kings, PARAKRAMA BAHU VII. reigned. He was known as "the Pandit" because of his great learning, and was succeeded by VIRA PARAKRAMA BAHU VIII. There is nothing worthy of note in the history of these Kings, though their reigns lasted forty-three years, 1462-1505 A. D. In 1505 A. D. the eighth Parakrama was succeeded by his son DHARMA PARAKARAMA BAHU IX, and of him we shall have more to say, for in his reign occured the first visit of the Portuguese to Ceylon.

A. D. 1492 Columbus discovered West Indies.

TABLE

Showing Kings of the Suluvansa or Lower Dynasty from 1037 to 1505 A.D.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign *
		A.D.		
	[*Interregnum of Twelve Years*]	1038—1049	Pollonaruwa & Ruhuna	
115	Kirti	1049	Ruhuna	8 days
116	Mahalana Kirti	1049	"	3
117	Vikum Pandi or Vikrama Pandi ...	1052	Kalutara	1
118	Jagat Pála	1053	Ruhuna	4
119	Parakrama or Perakum ...	1057	"	2
120	Lokésvara	1059	Kataragama	6
121	Vijaya Bahu I. or Siri Sangabo IV.	1065	Pollonaruwa & Anuradhapura	55
122	Jaya Bahu I.	1120	Pollonaruwa	1
123	Vikrama Bahu I.	1121	"	21
124	Gaja Bahu II.	1142	"	22
125	Parakrama Bahu I. the Great ...	1164	"	33
126	Vijaya Bahu II.	1197	"	1
127	Mihindu VI.	1198	"	5 days
128	Kirti Nissanka Malla	1198	"	9

* In *years*, unless otherwise stated.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign *
		A.D.	Polonnaruwa	
129	Víra Bahu I.	1207	〃	1 day
130	Vikrama Bahu II.	1207	〃	3 mths.
131	Chódaganga	1207	〃	9 mths.
132	Lilavati (*Queen*)	1208	〃	3
133	Sáhasamalla	1211	〃	2
134	Kalyánavahi (*Queen*)	1213	〃	6
135	Dharmásóka	1219	〃	1
136	Anikanga	1220	〃	17 days
132	Lilavati (*restored*)	1220	〃	1
137	Lokésvara	1221	〃	9 mths.
132	Lilavati (*restored*)	1221	〃	7 mths.
138	Parakrama Pandu	1222	〃	3
139	*Mágha Kálinga*	1225	〃	21
140	Vijaya Bahu III.	1246	Dambadeniya	4
141	Parakrama Bahu II.	1250	〃	35
142	Vijaya Bahu IV.	1285	Polonnaruwa	2
143	Bhuvaneka Bahu I.	1287	Pollonaruwa & Yapahu	11
144	Parakrama Báhu III.	1298	Polonnaruwa	5

* In *years*, unless otherwise stated.

No	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign. *
		A.D.		
145	Bhuvanéka Báhu II.	1303	Kurunegala	2
146	Parakrama Bahu IV.	1305	Kurunegala	—
147	Bhuvaneka Bahu III.	—	"	—
148	Jaya Báhu II.	—	"	—
149	Bhuvaneka Bahu IV.	1347	Gampola	14
150	Parakrama Bahu V.	1361	"	10
151	Vikrama Bahu III.	1371	"	7
152	Bhuvaneka Bahu V.	1378	Kotté	20
153	Vira Bahu II.	1398	"	12
154	Parakrama Bahu VI.	1410	"	52
155	Jaya Bahu II.	1462	"	2
156	Bhuvaneka Bahu VI.	1464	"	7
157	Pandita Parakrama Bahu VII. ...	1471	"	11
158	Vira Parakrama Bahu VIII. ...	1485	"	20
159	Dharma Parakra Bahu IX. ...	1505	"	22

* In *years*, unless otherwise stated.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Arrival of the Portuguese.

WE have now followed the course of Ceylon history through a period of two thousand years from its known beginnings. We have seen how Ceylon was first conquered and peopled by Vijaya; how, two centuries later, Buddhism was introduced; how literature was cultivated; how arts and sciences were encouraged; and how a Sinhalese king made his power felt in Cambodia and in India. We have seen the Tamils of India attempting time after time to win the island for themselves, ravaging the country in numberless invasions, forcing the Sinhalese kings from one capital to another, and at length forming a settlement and kingdom of their own in the northern districts. We have seen that Ruhuna and the central districts maintained their independence throughout all the changes that occurred elsewhere, furnishing a safe refuge for kings in their need, and supplying fresh bands of troops with which to repel the Tamil invaders. We have read too of other invasions, of the Malays from Java, and the Chinese from their empire farther west. But these invaders were all Asiatics, the people of countries belonging to the same continent as Ceylon itself. We have now to tell of very different races who came to Ceylon and in the end made it their own; in other words, of the conquest of Ceylon by invaders from Europe,—by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, in turn. The first European invaders of Ceylon were the Portuguese, whom a mere accident brought to our coasts, when

Dharma Parakrama Bahu IX. was reigning at Kotté (*i.e.* Cotta), A. D. 1505.

ANCIENT TRADE OF CEYLON.

Ceylon was not unknown to Europeans before this event. The Greeks, as we know, mention it in their books, and many merchants and travellers carried reports to Europe of the wealth and fertility of the island. Even in very early times its cinnamon was prized in Europe, and by the sixth century after Christ the island had become a great centre of trade. Ships from China brought silk and cloves; Persia sent horses; India sent musk, pepper, brass and cloth; while Nubia and Abyssinia sent their gold. It must not be supposed, however, that the Sinhalese owned or manned the ships that carried on this trade: they were not a race of sailors. The trade lay almost entirely in the hands of the Arabs, Moors, and Persians. The gems, cinnamon, and elephants of Ceylon, together with the other articles of commerce brought into Ceylon from more distant countries, were carried by the Arabs and Moors to the African ports on the Red Sea. and thence conveyed overland to Europe.

THE PORTUGUESE

The people of Portugal, in the south-west of Europe, were very anxious to find a way to India, the land from which came the spices and other luxuries they so highly valued. They were a great sea-faring nation, and wished to visit the East and bring its treasures to Europe in their own ships. But in the fifteenth century little was known about the coast of Africa, the great country that lay between Portugal and India. Step by step the western coast of Africa was explored, till in 1487 A.D. a brave sailor named Bartholomew

Diaz doubled, that is, sailed round, the Cape at the extreme south of Africa. The storms he met while doing this were so terrible that he named the cape the "Cape of Storms;" but the King of Portugal was so pleased with the result of the voyage that he changed the name to the "Cape of Good Hope," the name it now bears. He still hoped to reach the much-desired land of India.

Vasco da Gama

Ten years later, in 1497 A. D., Vasco da Gama left Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, on another voyage round the Cape, and this time India was reached. Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut on the west coast of India where he was at first well received by the Hindu ruler. But the Moors feared that they would no longer be able to keep the trade to themselves if the the Portuguese had anything to do with it, and tried to create ill-feeling between the Hindus and the Portuguese. But the latter succeeded in collecting a valuable cargo with which they returned to Portugal. Several expeditions followed, and by 1504 A. D. the Portuguese had won some possessions in India which they began gradually to extend. The carrying trade was now in their hands, and the Moors were being driven out of the waters where their ships alone had all this time been sailing. In 1505, Francisco de Almeida, the Portuguese Viceroy in India, sent his son

Lorenzo de Almeida

Lorenzo to capture certain ships of the Moors who, to avoid their enemy, were passing south of Ceylon and by the Maldive Islands. The currents of the Indian Ocean carried Lorenzo, who did not know where he was being taken, to the coast of Ceylon, and he anchored

at Colombo or, as some think, Galle. It is worth recording how the Portuguese sailors were described to Parakrama Bahu by his ministers :—"There are now in our harbour of Colombo a race of men exceeding white and beautiful. They wear boots and hats of iron, and they are always moving about. They eat white stones and drink blood : if they get a fish they will give two or three *ridi* in gold or silver for it ; and they have guns which make a noise like thunder, and even louder, and a ball shot from one of them, after flying some leagues, will break a castle of marble and even of iron." The Sinhalese at this time knew nothing of guns or gunpowder and their amazement may well be understood. The king called his ministers together, and asked whether he should make peace with the new-comers or attempt to fight them. It was decided that Chakra, one of his ministers, should go in disguise to Colombo, and find out the truth about the rumours brought to the King. Chakra reported on his return that the strangers were certainly dangerous, and that it would be wiser to form an alliance with them. Accordingly, the king received an embassy from the Portuguese, and made a treaty of friendship with Lorenzo de Almeida, who then returned to his business with the Moors on the Indian seas.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese continued to extend their influence in India. They established settlements on the western coast of India, and made the town of Goa the capital of their possessions. They went farther east and conquered Malacca. Ceylon, which lay midway between these places, was therefore a desirable possession, and the Portuguese decided upon its conquest. This was the cause of their second

De Albergaria
1517 A.D.

visit. Seventeen ships came in 1517 under Lopo Soarez de Albergaria, and a factory was speedily erected at Colombo, the Portuguese saying that permission to build a factory was included in the treaty of 1505. Then a fort was built; but this, they explained, was needed to protect the factory from the assaults of the Moors. The Moors at length succeeded in stirring up the king to make war against the Portuguese; but his attacks were repelled without difficulty and he was forced to submit and pay tribute to the king of Portugal. In 1520 the fort was rebuilt of stone, though the Sinhalese and Moors did all they could to prevent the work. Seven years later Dharma Parakrama Bahu IX. died.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Extension of Portuguese Influence. 1527—1542 A.D.

THE Portuguese gradually extended their possessions in Ceylon during the reign of the next king VIJAYA BAHU V, (1527—1534 A.D.) and in so doing they did not spare either the lives or the property of the Sinhalese. In their anxiety to secure wealth and power they were utterly careless of the rights of the natives of the island and committed many acts of cruelty and injustice. The

VIJAYA BAHU V.

A. D. 1517 Luther's theses published at Wittenberg.
„ 1529 Fall of Cardinal Wolsey.

Sinhalese, maddened by the oppression to which they were subjected, made a vigorous attempt to get back their freedom. A force of twenty thousand men besieged Colombo, and if it were not that help came from the Portuguese province of Cochin in India,

DE BRITO.

De Brito, who was in command at Colombo, would have been killed with all his soldiers. As it happened, he was able to drive off the Sinhalese; but he saw that it was necessary to prevent the excesses of his men, and to treat the natives with more consideration.

With the Portuguese came a new religion to Ceylon. We cannot be quite sure if Christianity had ever been preached in Ceylon before, but if it had been it must

CHRISTIANITY IN CEYLON.

have been in very early times. When, however, De Albergaria came to Ceylon in 1517, a number of missionaries accompanied him, and tried to convert the Sinhalese to Christianity, These missionaries belonged to the Roman Catholic section of the Christian Church, and there can be no doubt that their teaching, whatever may have been its effect on the Sinhalese people, did a great deal to restrain the violence of the Portuguese soldiers.

Vijaya Bahu's rule was weak and selfish, and it did not help the Sinhalese to keep their ancient kingdom free or safe. At this time the island was divided into a number of petty governments, each of which was really independent, though all were nominally subject to the King of Kotté; and Kotté itself was too near the Sinhalese fort to be quite free from danger. In

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A. D. 1535 Act of Supremacy. Henry VIII.

the face of these difficulties the king increased the disunion among his people by a foolish act. He appointed his brother-in-law as his successor in the government, and shut out his own sons, whom he even attempted to put to death. These sons determined upon revenge. They collected an army, plundered Kotté. and hired an assassin to kill their father. BHUWANEKA BAHU VII, the eldest of Vijaya Bahu's sons, then became king, 1537 A. D., while two of his brothers held smaller governments, *Maya Dunné* at Sitavaka, and *Rayigam Bandara* at Rayigama. But the new king was as imprudent as his father had been. He directed that Dharmapála, his grandson, should succeed him as king. Maya Dunné objected to this arrangement, and prepared to defend Sitavaka against the king's forces, which he knew would be sent against him. But Bhuwaneka obtained the help of the Portuguese and Sitavaka was easily taken. Twice after this, in 1538 and in 1540, Maya Dunné attempted to rise against the king. He was assisted both by his brother Rayigam Bandara and by Muhammadan troops from Calicut and Cochin. But the Portuguese were too strong, and Sitavaka was on each occasion invaded and burnt to the ground.

MAYA DUNNÉ.

The king now found that if he wished to secure the throne to himself and his own family he could not rely upon the support of his countrymen. He was forced to depend more and more upon the Portuguese, and he accordingly determined to keep well with them. To bind them to his cause he resorted to a curious device. A statue of Dharmapála

SINHALESE EMBASSY TO LISBON: 1540 A.D.

was sent to Portugal in the charge of a chief named Salappu Arachchi. A golden crown went with it, and Bhuvaneka asked that the king of Portugal should crown the statue. This could only mean that Bhuveneka considered himself the vassal of the Portuguese king, and that the latter was acknowledged to have the right to give the crown to any one he pleased. John III, who was at that time (A-D. 1541) king of Portugal, was, as we may well understand, very pleased to receive this formal acknowledgment of his supremacy. The statue was crowned in Lisbon with great ceremony, and Dharmapála was given the additional name of *Don Juan*, *Juan* being the Portuguese form of *John*. At the same time John III insisted that liberty to preach the Christian religion should be given everywhere in Ceylon, and a body of missionaries accompanied Salappu Arachchi on his return to the island. We must remember that the Portuguese were not anxious to extend their empire only; they were equally anxious to advance their religion.

In 1542, Bhuvaneka Bahu VII died. He was on a visit to Kelaniya and while walking along the banks of the river was shot in the head (it is supposed by accident) by a Portuguese. DON JUAN DHARMAPALA succeeded to the throne. He was, nominally at least, a Christian, and he owed his crown to the support of the Portuguese. His subjects found that it was profitable to call themselves Christians and to worship in the Christian Churches, for they might then be appointed to government offices; and "for the sake of Portuguese gold," many natives of all castes professed the new belief, and adopted Portuguese names in addition

DON JUAN DHARMAPALA.

to their own. On the western coast there were large numbers of Christians—real and pretended.

In 1544 the district of Manaar was converted to Christianity through the eloquence and self-denying zeal of Francis Xavier, a Roman Catholic Missionary. Manaar belonged to the Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna, and its ruler *Sangkili* did his best to root out the new religion. Six hundred Christians were massacred in Mannar, and all other converts were persecuted without mercy. But in spite of this Christianity spread, and several members of Sangkili's family were among the converts. To protect them and to punish the assaults on the Portuguese, the Viceroy of Goa determined to conquer the country. But the attempt was not made till some years later.

CONVERSION OF MANAAR.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Raja Sinha I. and the Kandyan Kingdom.

MAYA DUNNÉ was bent on driving the Portuguese out of Ceylon and on winning for himself the sovereignty of Ceylon. He fortified his capital, Sitavaka, and then began to bring the chiefs of the mountain districts under his authority. In this he was greatly assisted by his son *Tikiri Banda*, the daring warrior who afterwards became king of Ceylon under the name of Raja Sinha I. Even the Portuguese settlements on

MAYA DUNNE

A. D. 1558 Calais lost to the English. Mary I.
„ „ Accession of Queen Elizabeth.

the southern coast did not escape. The Portuguese in Colombo saw that an effort must be made to check the growing power of Mayá Dunné, and in 1563 a combined army of Europeans and Sinhalese, under the command of Don Juan Dharmapála, marched against Raja Sinha, and a fierce battle was fought at one of the mountain passes leading to the interior of the island. The combined army was defeated and pursued to the walls of Colombo, where they were to a certain extent safe from assault. Kotté was then besieged by Maya Dunné, and its inhabitants were in great danger of starvation; and in the next year Don Juan Dharmapála was forced to leave it and to reside in Colombo.

RAJA SINHA I. 1581—1592 A. D.

In 1581 Mayá Dunné was murdered by his son Tikiri Banda, who from this time reigned at Sitavaka as RAJA SINHA I. (1581—1592 A. D.) He was now the most prominent ruler in Ceylon, for from the time that Don Juan Dharmapála went to live in Colombo till his death in 1597 he had no influence with his countrymen. On Raja Sinha's accession, the Portuguese made another attempt to capture Sitavaka. A large force was sent against it, and defeated an army led by one of Raja Sinha's generals. Then Raja Sinha himself took the field. He met the combined Portuguese and Sinhalese forces at the Mulleriyava

MULLERIYAVA

tank and utterly defeated them. The slaughter was terrible, no less than seventeen hundred Portuguese soldiers being killed in the battle. Encouraged by this victory the king marched against Kotte, and took possession of it. Meanwhile the Portuguese had received help

from Goa and another army was sent against Raja Sinha. This time they advanced more cautiously, but Raja Sinha again defeated them, and soon besieged Colombo. From this siege, however, he was, to his great disappointment, called away by an insurrection in his own dominions.

The Portuguese were more successful in Jaffna, which they brought under their power, and here they were able to provide a refuge for some of those whom Raja Sinha and his father Mayá Dunné had warred against. Vira Bahu was the king of Kandy, and when he was defeated by Mayá Dunné, he fled with his family to Manaar and sought the protection of the Portuguese. Protection was readily granted; Vira Bahu was baptised and given the name of Don Philip in honour of Philip II. who was at this time king of Spain and Portugal; and his daughter, Donna Catharina, remained in the care of the Portuguese at Manaar.

DON PHILIP (*Vira Bahu*)

Like all cruel rulers Raja Sinha was very suspicious, especially of the neighbouring chiefs whom he compelled to acknowledge his supremacy. One of the princes whom he suspected most was Sundara Bandara, and this man soon fell a victim to the king's distrust. The prince was invited to Sitavaka with the promise of certain districts to be placed under his control as the reward of his former services. On the way, two mudaliyars who escorted him pushed him into a pit at the bottom of which sharp stakes had been fixed, and there killed him. This cruel murder was after-

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A. D. 1587. Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.

„ 1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

wards avenged by Sundara's son, Konappu Bandara who fled to Colombo and offered his services to the Portuguese. He was baptised, and named Don Juan after John, Duke of Austria, one of the greatest generals in Europe at that time. We must be careful to distinguish this Don Juan from the Don Juan Dharmapála who was still the nominal ruler of the districts near Colombo, though in fact a dependant on the Portuguese.

DON JUAN
(*Konappu Bandara*)

Prompted by the Portuguese, the second Don Juan (Konappu Bandara) sailed to Manaar and thence made his way inland to Kandy, where he successfully raised an insurrection against the King. Raja Sinha was at this time an old man,—one hundred and twenty years old, it is said. His cruelty had raised bitter enemies against him. More than that, he had given up Buddhism, had become a Hindu, and was doing all he could to destroy Buddhism and to promote Hinduism. Even the Buddhist shrine on the top of Adam's Peak was given over to the Hindus. But in spite of his age and the hatred which he knew was felt against him, he prepared to fight in defence of his crown. The Kandyan districts now refused to acknowledge his rule and Don Philip (Vira Bahu) was appointed King of Kandy by the Portuguese. Sitavaka was besieged and the adjoining country laid waste. The southern coast was ravaged by the Portuguese who gained much plunder in destroying the Buddhist and Hindu temples at Dewundera, Matara, and other towns. A decisive battle was fought in 1592 at the Kadugannava Pass. Don Juan's forces were irresistible. The

KANDYAN REVOLT

king's army was routed and Raja Sinha himself was wounded in the leg. A few days after he died.

Don Juan (Konappu Bandara) immediately proclaimed himself King. He threw aside all his former professions of Christianity, declared himself a Buddhist, and took the title of VIMALA DHARMA I. He had not forgiven the Portuguese who had given the throne of Kandy to Don Philip rather than to him. However, he now took the throne by force. Don Philip was poisoned, and the Portuguese were treated as enemies. They, on their side, would not recognise Vimala Dharma as King. Now that Don Philip was dead, they pronounced his daughter Donna Catharina, to be the lawful sovereign of Kandy; and they made ready to support her claims. But they were not strong enough to do anything just then.

VIMALA DHARMA I.
(1592—1604. A. D.

About this time, a Portuguese ship on its way from Malacca to Goa touched at Colombo, and its commander, Don Lopez de Souza, was informed of the state of affairs. He was urged to place the matter before the Viceroy of Goa and to bring help to Ceylon without delay. De Souza had great influence at Goa. and he succeeded in persuading the Viceroy that help was urgently needed. He himself returned to Ceylon in command of a large body of troops; and as he had made it a condition with the Viceroy that, when the conquest of Kandy was complete, Donna Catharina should be married to his nephew, De Souza was unsparing in his efforts to destroy the power of Vimala Dharma. Coming to Manaar he placed the young

DONNA CATHARINA

princess at the head of his forces, then came to Negombo, and thence marched towards Kandy, Near Negombo he was met by Jaya Vira Banda, a Sinhalese chief, who came with a large army to assist Donna Catharina.

This addition to the Portuguese forces was a serious danger to the Kandyan king, but Vimala Dharma cunningly contrived to get rid of Jaya Vira. He wrote a friendly letter to him reminding him of a pretended plot by which the Portuguese general was to be betrayed, and urging him not to fail in his promise as the time had now come. The letter fell, as it was intended, into the hands of De Souza, who at once sent for Jaya Vira Banda, showed him the letter, and without waiting for any explanation stabbed him to the heart. The Sinhalese who had come to help their princess were naturally indignant and abandoned De Souza. Many of them joined Vimala Dharma.

JAYA VIRA BANDA.

De Souza still persisted in his march to Kandy, and at length reached the mountain pass at Balane. So far he had met with little or no opposition; but half-way up the pass, Vimala Dharma's army suddenly fell upon the Portuguese forces and utterly destroyed them. Donna Catharina was taken prisoner, and compelled to marry Vimala Dharma, who by this marriage made himself secure on the throne of Kandy.

Two years later (A. D. 1594), the Portuguese made another attempt to conquer Kandy, They were led by Jeronimo de Azevedo, a brave and skilful soldier, but infamous in a cruel age for the cruelties he practised on his victims. His army marched to the

DE AZEVEDO
1594 A. D.

Balane pass and took care to avoid being surprised by the enemy as De Souza had been. Vimala Dharma was thus forced to engage in a regular battle, in which he was victorious, and the remnants of the defeated Portuguese struggled back to Colombo. Azevedo next tried to assassinate the Kandyan king; but the five men he sent for this purpose were murdered at the fatal pass.

The Portuguese were now obliged to be content with their settlements on the coast. Their chief towns, Colombo the capital, Galle, Batticaloa, and Trincomalie were strongly fortified, and became the centres of a large Portuguese population. Trade was carried on with great energy, and churches began to be built. But another European power soon appeared, before whom the Portuguese were finally compelled to give way.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Dutch Trade with India.

THE King of Portugal (Philip II.) was also King of Spain, Spain being, of course, the larger and more important country. Indeed, in the sixteenth century, Spain was if not the most powerful, at least one of the three most powerful kingdoms of Europe. Among its subject kingdoms were both Portugal and the country now called Holland. In 1568 A. D., the Hollanders, or Dutch, as they are commonly called, rose in rebellion against the cruelties and misrule of Spain, and in 1581 they formed among themselves a

separate government. But only one year previously Portugal had been conquered by Spain.

Until 1594, the Dutch carried on a large trade with the Portuguese, especially in Indian goods. Portuguese ships would bring silks, spices, and other articles from India and the East to Lisbon. From Lisbon Dutch vessels would take these goods to countries farther north. This trade went on even during the war between Holland and Spain, though the king of Spain was also king of Portugal. In 1594, Philip II. thought to destroy the trade, and in that way the power, of the Dutch by forbidding the Portuguese to have any dealings with them. More than that he imprisoned and tortured Dutch captives, because they differed from him in their religious beliefs; for though the Dutch, like the Portuguese, were Christians, yet they belonged to the Protestant or Reformed section of the Christian Church.

DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY A.D. 1595.

The loss of this trade made the Dutch only the more determined to establish direct dealings with India and the East. They and the other European nations had been all this while prevented from trading with the countries whence came the luxuries they prized so much. Now they felt at liberty to fetch these luxuries for themselves in their own ships.

A Dutch company to trade with "distant lands," was at once formed, and in 1595 Dutch merchant-ships (the first of their kind) sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and were followed very soon after by fleet after fleet which visited India and the Eastern Archipelago. Five years later, the English formed

an English "East India Company," but of this we shall hear more later on.

On the 30th May 1602 Admiral Joris Van Spilbergen cast anchor in Batticaloa Bay. His were the first Dutch ships seen in Ceylon, but the Sinhalese thought that the Hollanders were Portuguese, and at first regarded them with much suspicion. The governor of Batticaloa paid a small tribute to the Portuguese and was nominally subject to them; but he was secretly a supporter of Vimala Dharma, King of Kandy. Spilbergen had some trouble in convincing the governor that he was not a Portuguese, but an enemy of that nation. All he wanted was to buy pepper and cinnamon. In a few days, he found out that there was a king of Kandy, to whom the surrounding chiefs were subject. Spilbergen resolved to visit the king and to offer him an alliance with Holland. When he arrived at Kandy, he was honourably received by Vimala Dharma who was delighted to find that the Dutch would assist him to expel the Portuguese from Ceylon. The king and the admiral held long conversations, and the latter was allowed to trade quite freely in and with Ceylon, and even to build a fort in any part of the country. "See," said the king; "I myself, my Empress, the Prince and Princesses will carry on our own shoulders the stones, lime and other materials, if the States-general and the Prince are willing to build a fortress on my land."

SPILBERGEN 1602 A.D.

On the 2nd September 1602 Spilbergen left Batticaloa for the Spice Islands fully satisfied with his visit. Before he left he captured three Portuguese vessels off the east coast, and gave them over to the

Sinhalese, thus proving that he was really an enemy of the Portuguese. Next year (1603 A. D.) Sibald de Weert, one of Spilbergen's captains, arrived in Ceylon from Achin in Sumatra. On the way he had captured four Portuguese ships which, however, he afterwards set at liberty. Various reports had also been taken to Vimala Dharma that De Weert was friendly to the Portuguese. The suspicious and angry king went to meet him at Batticaloa and a quarrel soon took place. To test his fidelity the king ordered him to attack the Portuguese at Galle. De Weert, who had taken too much wine, rudely refused, and shortly after made a grossly insolent remark about the Queen. "Bind that dog,'' exclaimed the furious king. But De Weert resisted the officers who tried to bind him, and he was killed with nearly all his followers. Then Vimala Dharma returned to Kandy and sent a message to De Weert's lieutenant: "He who drinks wine comes to mischief. God has done justice. If you seek peace, let it be peace; if war, war be it." The Dutch thought it wise at this time to take no further notice of the incident. They were not prepared yet to fight in Ceylon. In the next year Vimala Dharma died.

DE WEERT 1603 A.D.

On the death of her husband, Donna Catharina took the government into her own hands, as her two sons were infants. The Portuguese tried to win her over to their side, but she refused to make any alliance or treaty with them. There were many chiefs who sought to marry the queen and to take over the guardianship of her sons; but of these the two principal claimants were the Prince of Uva, and Senerat a priest of the

SENERAT 1604—1634 A. D.

temple on Adam's Peak. The prince was murdered by Senerat, who gave up his priesthood, and at length persuaded Donna Catharina to marry him.

De Boschhower
1612 A.D.

On the 8th March 1612, Marcellus de Boschhower arrived at Kandy, as an ambassador from the Dutch government, and two months later a treaty was made between the Dutch and the King of Kandy. The Dutch promised to assist Senerat in his war against the Portuguese; on his side Senerat engaged to build a fort for the Dutch at Kottiyar, near Trincomalie, and to allow them full liberty to trade in Ceylon. No European nation except the Dutch was to be allowed any trade at all with or in Ceylon. Senerat was so eager to secure the alliance with the Dutch that he kept Boschhower with him in Kandy nominally as Dutch ambassador, but to a greater extent as his private friend and adviser.

Simon Corea
1612 A.D.

The Portuguese were not idle when they heard of these proceedings. In the same year (1612) Simon Corea with a force of 1000 Portuguese and 3000 natives marched by a secret path to Kottiyar, destroyed the fort and put to death the Dutch garrison left there by Boschhower. But Senerat was true to his engagement; before the invaders could return to their own territory, a Sinhalese army fell upon them. Twenty three Portuguese and six hundred natives were killed and a large amount of plunder was carried to Kandy.

Both sides now began to prepare for a decisive struggle. Senerat collected an army of fifty thousand

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A.D. 1605 Gunpowder Plot discovered.

A.D. 1608 Virginia, first English settlement in America.

men and decided to attack Galle and Colombo. The Portuguese got together what troops they could, and invaded Jaffna where they were defeated; but they were successful in the Seven Korales where they routed Senerat's army.

The death of Donna Catharina in July 1613—she died of grief at the death of her eldest son who had been poisoned by Senerat—did not prevent the war being carried on against the Portuguese. But the latter contrived to establish themselves more firmly in their possessions on the coast, and they even approached Kandy. In 1615 Senerat sent Boschhower to Holland to ask the Dutch for troops to expel the Portuguese. But Boschhower had by this time become so insolent in his manner (for while he pretended that he was the ambassador of a great foreign king, he forgot that he was still a Dutch subject) that the Dutch refused to have anything to do with him. He then went to Denmark. The Danish king, anxious to have a share in the Indian trade, was easily induced to send five warships to Ceylon. But Boschhower died on the way, and Senerat refused to accept the asssistance of the Danes, who returned to their own country greatly disappointed.

DANISH EXPEDITION TO CEYLON 1620 A. D.

The news of the failure of the Danish expedition, and of the death of Boschhower on whom Senerat had so much relied, delighted the Portuguese. They built forts at Trincomalie and Batticaloa, and hoped soon to make their power felt in the Kandyan kingdom.

A.D. 1618 Thirty Years' War begun.

,, Petition of Right presented to Charles I.

They claimed, further, to be the lawful rulers of the island for when Don Juan Dharmapála died in 1597, he left a will by which he appointed the Portuguese his successors. Meanwhile, in 1617 the province of Jaffna was brought completely under the Portuguese rule.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The last Years of Portuguese Rule.

THE Portuguese were compelled to invade Kandy sooner than they had intended. The armies of Senerat harassed them by frequent attacks on their possessions, and it was easily seen that the king meant to make a strong effort to expel the Portuguese. For this purpose he was collecting large forces and secretly plotting with the Sinhalese Mudaliyars who served under the Portuguese. In 1630 A.D. Constantine de Saa y Norona, the Portuguese governor of Ceylon, had no choice but to declare war, though he knew that the result could at the best be very doubtful. But even though he perceived that peace was more necessary than war for the safety of the Portuguese in Ceylon; even though his most experienced advisers pointed out that his troops had never been so few, while Senerat had all the advantage of numbers and of situation; yet De Saa felt bound to obey the orders he had received from the Viceroy of Goa, and to invade Kandy. Indeed, the Viceroy

CONSTANTINE DE SAA
1630 A.D.

had begun to taunt De Saa with being a trader rather than a soldier, and these taunts were more than the general's proud spirit could bear. With fifteen hundred Portuguese and about twenty thousand natives he began the march. The army got safely over the Balane Pass where there was some fighting, and then advanced to Uva, whither Senerat had cleverly retreated. The Portuguese burned and plundered the villages and towns on their way, and rested for a day or two on a mountain in the Uva district, as the soldiers were worn out with their long march. Suddenly, the plains below and the mountains around them were filled with Senerat's troops, and De Saa knew that he was betrayed and entrapped. It was too late to fight that day, but the night was spent by the Portuguese in religious exercises and in preparations for the morrow. The general went round the camp encouraging his men to do their best. "Before this," said he, "you have battled for glory; now you must fight for your lives."

There could be no doubt as to the result of the next day's conflict. The treacherous Mudaliyars led the van of the Portuguese army, and when the battle began, one of them struck off the head of a Portuguese soldier and held it up on his lance. This was the signal for revolt. The Sinhalese troops—all but one hundred and fifty who remained faithful—faced about and attacked the Portuguese, who now fought desperately, for they saw no way of escape. Raja Sinha, the son of Senerat, commanded the Kandyan army, and continually sent fresh troops to take the places of those who had been slain. The fight continued all day, but the darkness of night brought

neither help nor rest to the wearied Portuguese. Rain fell in torrents and not only prevented sleep but also spoilt their muskets and powder as well as their food. There was still a chance for De Saa to escape, and he was entreated to select fifty soldiers and cut his way through the enemy; but this he nobly refused to do. He said that he had always hitherto done his duty, and if he could not save his brave soldiers it only remained for him to have the glory of dying with them. Next day (20th August, 1630) De Saa and his heroic company were destroyed by the hosts of the enemy.

Thus perished Constantine de Saa, by far the greatest and the best of those Portuguese leaders whose names are recorded in the history of Ceylon Others might have equalled him in personal bravery or in military skill and experience; but none of them has left so honourable and pure a name. In an age when every one sought to enrich himself, and was careless whether the means he employed were honest or not, De Saa, kept himself free from corruption, did all he could to check and punish evil, and in every way acted as a true gentleman should. "There was no Portuguese in all Ceylon" says Ribeyro, a fellow-countryman of De Saa's, "but wept on hearing of the deeds and death of Constantine de Saa y Noronha, and his memory will be honoured as long as merit and valour are loved. This unfortunate day [the day of De Saa's death] commenced our ruin in the island of Ceylon."

After this victory Raja Sinha went down at once to besiege Colombo, but in spite of repeated attempts, failed to take the town. The report of Constantine de Saa's death had reached Goa, and the viceroy, who

had all this time "sent his orders but no assistance," hastily despatched six hundred and thirty soldiers, who after being delayed some months by adverse winds, arrived at Colombo in October 1631. The Sinhalese were defeated and a truce was agreed upon, Senerat consenting to pay a tribute of two elephants yearly. Three years later Senerat died.

Raja Sinha II. was now king, his two stepbrothers (the sons of Vimala and Donna Catharina) having to be content with the chieftaincies of Uva and Matale. The Portuguese, thinking that Raja Sinha's accession would be the cause of jealousy and civil war in Kandy, renewed their attacks on the Kandyan territories, in defiance of the treaty they had made. It was now quite plain to the king that there would be no real peace until the Portuguese were expelled from the island, and he asked the Dutch Governor of Batavia to help him with troops. Meanwhile the Portuguese sent another expedition to the mountain districts with Diego de Melho in command. Kandy was taken and plundered. But on the way back they

DE MELHO
1637 A.D.

were surrounded by Raja Sinha's troops at the Balane Pass, which on at least two previous occasions had been so fatal to the Portuguese armies. Here de Melho received a message from Raja Sinha who pointed out that he (the king had kept his part of the treaty, that there was no cause for the war, and that if the Portuguese persisted in their unjust proceedings the God whom they worshipped would surely punish the guilty person.

De Melho replied angrily that he was determined to punish the king, and ordered his troops to advance.

A.D 1637. Hampden refused to pay ship-money. Charles I.

The same thing happened on this occasion that had happened before. The Portuguese were hemmed in, and their retreat cut off. They were deserted by their native auxiliaries, and, with the exception of thirty-three who were taken prisoners, were slain in the heart of the pass. This was in 1637 A. D.

Raja Sinha's application to the Dutch was successful. On the 18th May, 1638, Admiral Westerwold captured Batticaloa from the Portuguese, and five days later a treaty of alliance was signed between Raja Sinha and the Dutch. By this treaty the Dutch engaged to carry on the war against the Portuguese, and to find ammunition and forces. The king was to provide all the necessary expenses, supply native troops to help the Dutch, allow full freedom of trade to the Dutch, to allow no other European nation to trade with Ceylon, and to expel all Roman Catholic priests from the island.

Dutch Treaty.
Westerwold.
1638 A.D.

In 1639 Trincomalie was taken by the Dutch, and Negombo, Galle, and Matara, in the following year. Negombo, however, was retaken by the Portuguese a few months after it had been captured, though a similar attempt to retake Galle was unsuccessful. The Dutch historian hints that the Portuguese were assisted by Raja Sinha himself, who is accused of playing a double part. The truth was evidently that Raja Sinha was alarmed at the growing power of the Dutch, and suspected that they would behave towards him exactly as the Portuguese had done. He therefore regarded both nations as foes, and took the part of one or the other according as it suited his plans,

A.D. 1639 Madras acquired by the English.

attacking the settlements of both impartially. The conduct of Coster, the Dutch commander of Galle may have strengthened the king's suspicions. Coster went up to Kandy to talk over some matters with the king, and there behaved very rudely when his requests were not granted. The chiefs desired him to be more respectful, and reminded him, of the fate of Sebald de Weert, but this did not restrain his abusive language. The king dismissed him and Coster returned to Batticaloa; but on the way he was murdered.

COSTER 1640 A.D.

In 1642 Portugal ceased to be subject to Spain and became once more an independent kingdom. A treaty of peace for ten years was made in Europe betwen Portugal and Holland; but this did not prevent the war being continued in Ceylon. In 1644 the Dutch took Negombo again, but two years later an agreement was made by which the Dutch and Portuguese ceased fighting till 1654.

The year 1654 is noteworthy for the death of Vijaya Pala, the Prince of Uva and step-brother of Raja Sinha II. On the king's accession Vijaya Pala behaved loyally to him and assisted him in his battles. But a quarrel soon began in 1645 through the king's treacherous murder of seventeen Portuguese prisoners to whom protection had been promised, and Vijaya Pala went over to the Portuguese. Here he was treated with rather less respect than he thought was due to him. and resigning himself to his fate, he spent the remainder of his life

VIJAYA PALA

A.D. **1642** Civil War begun in England. Charles I.

" **1649** Execution of Charles I.

" **1652–1654** War between English and Dutch

in retirement and in the duties of religion. He was taken by the Portuguese to Goa, where he was baptised, and where he died nine years later. The death of Vijaya Pala removed one obstacle from Raja Sinha's path, for he was now free from rivals to the Kandyan throne, and so he no longer feared to meet the Portuguese when they marched into his kingdom.

There remained only a few fortresses—of which the chief were Colombo and Jaffna—to be taken from the Portuguese. Colombo was besieged by the Dutch in 1656, Antonio de Souza Coutinho being the Portuguese governor. The ships of the Hollanders threw shells into the town and easily beat down its walls of mud. All Portuguese vessels coming into or going out from the harbour, were seized. By land the Dutch, assisted by Raja Sinha's forces, harassed them and allowed no provisions to be taken to the besieged garrison. The Portuguese suffered severely from want of food. Even elephants dogs, and other animals were eaten. The heat was unbearable. No rain fell during the siege, and it was difficult to walk in the streets even with shoes on. In spite of all this, the Portuguese displayed wonderful spirit and bravery; and when at last they found it was impossible to hold out any longer, they wished to place their women in a church, and setting it on fire, to die sword in hand. This was opposed by the priests, and on the 10th of May, 1656 the Portuguese surrendered on the condition that they should be allowed to depart to Jaffna.

THE DUTCH TAKE COLOMBO 1656 A.D.

Raja Sinha now demanded that Colombo should be given up to him, for he expected that all fortresses

taken by the Dutch should be placed in his hands But to his surprise and indignation the Dutch refused the demand, and in a battle fought soon afterwards the Kandyans were defeated. Henceforth there was continual war between Raja Sinha and the Dutch. The latter did not pay much attention at this time to the anger of the Kandyan king. They were busy with the Portuguese, and went on to the north to expel those garrisons that remained. Manaar and Kayts were successively taken, and on the 24th June, 1658, Jaffna, the last stronghold of the Portuguese, was captured, and the garrison sent as prisoners of war to Batavia.

THE DUTCH TAKE JAFFNA, 1658 A. D.

A few Portuguese remained in the Kandyan country Some of them were prisoners of war and others had come there on Raja Sinha's invitation, They were subject to no restraint except that they could not leave the districts where they were placed—at Vaha-kotté (near Matale) and elsewhere. Here they lived as subjects of Raja Sinha, but enjoying many privileges, especially one privilege which the Dutch had refused them—the liberty to practise their own religion. There are Roman Catholic families still to be found at Vaha kotté, who are descended from these settlers.

VAHA-KOTTE,

A. D. 1658 Death of Oliver Cromwell.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Robert Knox in Ceylon, 1659-1679 A.D.

IT is a relief to turn away, at this point, from the record of battles and sieges to the story of a remarkable Englishman who lived for twenty years a prisoner in the Kandyan country. Perhaps the first Englishman to visit Ceylon was Ralph Fitch,

FIRST ENGLISH VISITS.

a merchant, who landed at Colombo on the 5th March, 1589; the first English ship was the "Edward Bonaventure," which anchored off Galle on the 3rd December, 1592. Neither the ship nor the merchant stayed here any length of time. But in 1659, Robert Knox came to Ceylon, where he remained a prisoner. On his escape he wrote a book giving an account of what he had seen and suffered, and his *Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon*, as he called it, is one of the most interesting books on Ceylon.

The father of Robert Knox was the captain of the frigate, "Ann," employed in the service of the English East India Company; for by 1600 A. D. the English people had, like the Dutch, formed a company to trade with India and the

CAPTAIN KNOX.

East. In November 1659, the "Ann" was caught in a severe storm off the Coromandel coast, and took refuge in the bay of Kottiyar, near Trincomalie. Captain Knox, his son Robert, and some of the crew were persuaded by the Sinhalese to come on shore, and there they were surrounded, and carried away the interior. Captain Knox tried,

A. D. 1660 Charles II King of England.

however, to save his son and the ship, and obtained permission to send his son on board. Robert Knox went and informed the sailors of what had happend. He added that his father ordered them to leave Ceylon at once, and then manfully returned to share his father's captivity. He was then only nineteen years old.

KNOX IN KANDY.

After some time the prisoners were broght to Kandy and placed in separate villages until Raja Sinha should send for them; "yet God was so merciful," says Robert Knox, "thus not to suffer them to part my father and me." In February, 1660, Captain Knox died of an ague and fever which both he and his son caught in the unhealthy districts where they were forced to live. When Robert Knox had recovered from his illness, he wandered in the Matale district, attended only by a faithful Tamil servant. He was gradually allowed a little liberty, and the Sinhalese villagers began to treat him with respect. Sometimes as his stock of money and provisions was getting smaller, he went fishing in the brooks, "as well to help out a meal as for recreation."

KNOX AND HIS BIBLE.

On one of these occasions, an old man who passed by asked the servant if Knox could read; for if so the old man had a book which he got when the Portuguese lost Colombo, and he would sell it. Knox hearing this sent the boy to get the book, but was not much concerned about the matter as he thought it was some Portuguese book that the old man had found. The remainder of the story is best told by Knox himself: "The boy having formerly served the English knew the book; and as

soon as he had got it in his hand came running with it, calling out to me, 'It is a Bible.' It startled me to hear him mention the name of a Bible, for I neither had one, nor scarcely could even think to see one, upon which I flung down my angle, and went to meet him. The first place the book opened in, after I took it in my hand, was the Sixteenth Chapter of the Acts; and the first place my eye pitched on was the thirtieth and one and thirtieth verses where the Jailor asked St. Paul *What must I do to be saved?* And he answered saying, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved and thy house.*

"The sight of this book so rejoiced me and affrighted me together that I cannot say which passion was greater; the joy for that I had got sight of a Bible, or the fear that I had not enough to buy it, having then but one pagoda [*8 shillings*] in the world; which I willingly would have given for it had it not been for my boy who dissuaded me from giving so much; alleging my necessity for money many other ways, and undertaking to procure the book for a far meaner price, provided I would seem to slight it in the sight of the old man. This counsel after I considered, I approved of; my urgent necessities earnestly craving, and my ability being but very small to relieve the same; and however, I thought I could give my piece of gold at the last cast if other means should fail."

Knox was a very observant man, and he took careful note of the manners and customs of the Kandyans. He acquired some knowledge of the Sinhalese language, and collected all the information he could about the roads and passes, and in what places guards were stationed

KNOX ESCAPES.

throughout the kingdom. He thus found out that his only way of escape was by travelling northwards, and in 1679 he got safely to Anuradhapura with another Englishman, named Rutland. Anuradhapura, which at this time was in ruins, neglected, and covered with jungle, was on the borders of Raja Sinha's possessions; but the guards thought the Englishmen were traders and allowed them to pass. After many dangers from elephants, bears, and wild buffaloes in the forests, from crocodiles in the rivers, and from Sinhalese villagers who might betray them if discovered, they reached Arippu on the west coast. Then they got to Manaar and at length reached Colombo by sea. Here they were kindly received by the Dutch governor, who was greatly interested in the very useful information which Knox gave concerning the Kandyan country, and who afterwards obtained for both the Englishmen a safe passage to Europe.

From the *Historical Relation* written by Knox we learn a good deal about the state of affairs in Kandy.

RAJA SINHA II DESCRIBED.

Raja Sinha II, whom Knox frequently met, is described as a well made, corpulent, but muscular man, darker in colour than most of his countrymen, and with sharp active eyes, always in motion. He bore his years well. Though between seventy and eighty years old at the time, he was not old either in appearance or in action. His style of dress was peculiar. On his head he wore a high four-cornered cap with a feather standing upright before, and a long band hanging down his back after the Portuguese fashion. The body of his coat was of one colour while the sleeves were of another. He wore shoes and stockings and

ong breeches reaching down to the ankles. A sword with a golden hilt, and scabbard of beaten gold, hung at his side from a belt worn over his shoulder. In his hand he carried a small painted cane richly adorned with gold and precious stones.

The king's palace was, according to Knox, strongly guarded night and day, and even the nobles who kept watch at the doors were so placed that they could not communicate with each other—so little trust had the king in the faithfulness of his people. His own body-guard consisted of a company of Kaffirs in whom he had more confidence. Nor need we wonder at the suspicions of the king. His cruelty was notorious. "He seems to be naturally disposed to cruelty," says Knox; "for he sheds a great deal of blood without giving any reason for it." There is a story that on one occasion, while swimming, he pretended to be in danger of drowning. Two young men, bolder than the rest, went to his help and brought him to land. They were immediately after executed because they had presumed to lay hands on the king's person. They should, it seems, have prostrated themselves before him so that he might lay his hands on them and in that way gain safety! Here, indeed, an excuse of some kind was given for the shedding of blood; but the story shows how cruel the king was, and what a dreadful power he exercised over his subjects.

In public affairs the king is described as being cautious and cunning; not given to act hastily, but considering each matter well, and lying or deceiving whenever he thought it advisable. His pride was intense. "The Dutch knowing his proud spirit make their advantage of it by flattering him with their

THE DUTCH AND RAJA SINHA II.

ambassadors, telling him that they are his Majesty's humble subjects and servants, and that it is out of their loyalty to him that they build forts, and keep watches round about his country, to prevent foreign nations and enemies from coming up into his Majesty's country. Thus by flattering him, and ascribing to him high and honourable titles, which are things he greatly delights in, sometimes they prevail to have the country they have invaded, and he to have the honour. Yet at other times, on better consideration, he will not be flattered, but falls upon them unawares and does them great damage,"

THE KANDYAN KINGDOM.

The two chief officers under the king were called *Adigars*, to whom anyone might appeal from the decisions of a lower authority. Next to the *Adigars* were the *Dissaves* or chiefs of provinces, and the *Vidhanes* or heads of districts, who were responsible that order was kept in their divisions, that the king's taxes and rents were duly paid, and that soldiers were provided when the king required them. Bribery prevailed among the king's officers to an enormous extent. Knox reports this as a common saying :—"He that has money to fee the judge, need not fear nor care whether his cause be right or not."

SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE SINHALESE.

The principal occupation of the people was the cultivation of rice. Their houses were small and low, with thatched roofs and walls. No tiles were allowed, nor lime to whiten the walls. Most houses consisted of only one room, few of more than two. No animal was killed or eaten for food.

Of learning the people had but little, and there were no schools; nor was it considered a shame to be wanting in education. But the Sinhalese were skilful in the carving of wood and in metal-work, and it is noteworthy that the art of extracting iron from the ore was known to, and practised by them in the time of Knox.

The Kandyans who lived in the mountain regions were less unwarlike than the dwellers in the low-country; but they could never be relied on. Of all vices they were said to be least given to stealing. They held their lands from the king, giving him not money but personal service in return. Nor did the king pay his officers with money; they were given lands and enjoyed the profits from those lands.

The general decay of Buddhism is noted by Knox. The King himself cared little for any religion, but Christians and Muhammadans and Buddhists were equally allowed to worship in their own way. Christians were indeed regarded with much respect as being more trustworthy than others. Nor shall we wonder at this when we remember that the king's mother was baptized as a Christian.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Beginnings of Dutch Rule.

IN June 1658, as we have seen, Jaffna was taken from the Portuguese, and from that event we may date the Dutch occupation of Ceylon. The Dutch

A D 1665. The Great Plague of London. Charles II.

did not possess the whole island, for Raja Sinha II was king of the Kandyan country, the natural strength of which, with its high hills, its dangerous passes, and its dense, pathless forests, made invasion difficult, and a permanent occupation impossible, unless large numbers of European soldiers were employed for the purpose. But nearly all the coast, and especially the west coast, was held by the Dutch, as it was previously held by the Portuguese. It was here that the cinnamon grew, and that was what the Dutch cared for most. So long as their trade was safe the Dutch did not trouble about Kandy. To secure that trade they humoured Raja Sinha, but at the same time took care to protect themselves from his constant attacks. But Raja Sinha had troubles of his own. His cruelty became so unbearable that in 1664 the Kandyans rose in revolt, and forced him to flee to the mountains for safety. Then they proclaimed his young son his successor. But the boy, who was only twelve years old, refused to join the rebels, and returned to his father. Thus the revolt broke down, and the conspirators dispersed. Raja Sinha returned in triumph, executed several chiefs who were suspected of a share in the conspiracy, and, to prevent a similar rising in future, caused his son to be poisoned.

REBELLION IN KANDY
1664 A.D.

In the same year, 1664 A. D., Sir Edward Winter, an Englishman, visited Kandy from Madras to obtain the release of certain French and English prisoners, detained at Kandy by the king's orders. But the mission was unsuccessful.

The Dutch were meanwhile strengthening their position in Ceylon. They were strong enough to

forbid devil worship and idolatrous ceremonies among the Sinhalese, as well as the religious ceremonies of the Roman Catholics, whose priests they regarded as Portuguese spies. From Matara to Jaffna, the towns on the Western coast were strongly fortified and provisioned in the event of a siege, and trade was carried on with great vigour. Cinnamon was the chief export, and next to cinnamon came elephants, arecanuts, pepper, cardamons, and arrack. As traders, the great rivals of the Dutch were the Moors, whom the former tried by the harshest measures to suppress. They were scarcely permitted in the island, and when permitted had to pay heavy and humiliating taxes, and to suffer great personal hardships; but no efforts of the Dutch could crush the trade carried on by the Moors.

DUTCH TRADE.

In 1672 war broke out in Europe between the Dutch and the French, and a French fleet of fourteen ships entered Trincomalie Bay. Raja Sinha was delighted to receive the offers of assistance given by the French Admiral, M. de la Haye, and the latter was allowed to build a fort at Trincomalie. But the Dutch Admiral Van Goens, though alarmed at first, succeeded in taking the fort and defeating the Frenchmen. This was the only direct attempt made by the French to take Ceylon.

FRENCH DESIGNS ON CEYLON. 1672 A.D.

After a reign of fifty years Raja Sinha was succeeded in 1684 A. D. by his son VIMALA DHARMA II, who had been warned by his father to live peaceably with the Dutch. The warning

VIMALA DHARMA II. 1684-1706 A. D.

A.D. 1670. Secret Treaty of Dover. Charles II.

" 1672. William of Orange Stadtholder of Holland.

was heeded, and there was no war during the twenty-two years of his reign. Indeed the Dutch encouraged the king's efforts to revive Buddhism by lending him ships to bring over Buddhist priests from Arakan. The Roman Catholics too were benefited in this reign—though this happened in spite of the Dutch prohibitions—by the arrival of Joseph Vaz, a noble and saintly Catholic priest from Goa. Father Vaz came in disguise to Jaffna in 1687 A. D. and travelled in the north of Ceylon ministering to the Roman Catholics, who hid him from the Dutch. He visited Puttalam, and then came in 1692 to Kandy. Here he was at first imprisoned by Vimala Dharma who suspected him to be a spy. After two years he was set free and visited several places in Ceylon returning in the end to Kandy In 1697 small-pox prevailed in the island, and a large number of people perished. The sick were neglected and allowed to die in the forests. Those who had not caught the disease fled in terror to escape it. Father Vaz and other Roman Catholic priests worked hard and unselfishly for the sick whom they nursed and fed, with the result that many Sinhalese rightly admiring such generous conduct sought baptism as Christians. In 1711 the devoted Father Vaz died at Kandy.

FATHER VAZ.

The successor of Vimala Dharma II was his son

A.D. 1685 Edict of Nantes revoked.
,, 1689 Declaration of Right.
,, 1707 Union of England and Scotland.
,, 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.
,, 1714 George I. King of England.

Narendra Sinha
1706-1739 A. D.

Narendra Sinha, who is known also as *Kundasale Raja*, from the village of that name which he founded four miles from Kandy. His excesses caused a rebellion, but this was put down. Buddhism made some advance during his reign. The king visited Anuradhapura, and other places sacred to Buddhists, holding great feasts at each place. Kandy, the capital, was greatly improved, the Dalada Maligawa being rebuilt and richly ornamented, while a wall was built round the smaller religious buildings. Learning was encouraged, and several religious and medical works were composed in, or translated into Sinhalese.

Takel's Embassy.
1721 A. D.

Narendra Sinha was the last of the Sinhalese race of kings. He married a princess of Madura, but she bore him no children. On her death in 1721, Isaac Rumph, the Dutch Governor of Colombo, sent an ambassador to the king to offer him the sympathies of the Dutch Company. Cornelius Takel was the ambassador appointed, and the king was greatly flattered when the Dutchman said that he had been sent to condole with his Majesty on the death of his "high-born, excellent, and all-accomplished queen."

Rumph was one of those Dutch Governors who tried to do justice to the people placed under his rule. The officers of the Dutch Company received very small salaries; but they were also allowed certain fees, the privilege of private trade, and some other concessions. By these means and by lending out money to the Sinhalese on high interest, many of the Dutch officials became rich, while the Company

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A. D. 1727. George II. King of England.

itself suffered by being thus deprived of much of its proper revenue. There was a good deal of bribery, and money was extorted from the natives whenever possible. Rumph tried to mend matters, but he could do very little, and towards the end of his rule the slaves in Colombo rose in insurrection against their masters.

In 1726 Petrus Vuyst became Governor of Colombo.

VUYST.

He was an exceedingly cruel and overbearing ruler. It is said that when he landed in Ceylon he put a blind over his right eye, declaring that the left alone was sufficient to govern so small and insignificant a country. Every man whom he suspected of opposition to his will was forced to endure his cruelty. Many were tortured and forced to say that they had committed crimes which they had not thought of committing. Vuyst tried to establish himself in Ceylon as an independent sovereign. But his subjects had had enough of him. They complained to the Governor of Batavia (for Ceylon was under the control of the Dutch Council there), and so great was the terror that Vuyst had inspired, that the complaint was sent away secretly, being stitched into the sole of the messenger's shoe. The Council at Batavia immediately recalled Vuyst (1729 A. D.), and after an enquiry was held they comdemned him to be broken alive on the wheel.

Stephanus Versluys, the next Governor, (1729—1732

VERSLUYS

A.D.) was very little better. His greed of gain was such that he nearly caused a famine by raising the price of rice to an extent

A.D. 1730. The Wesleys at Oxford.

quite beyond the means of ordinary people. After he left Ceylon four Dutch governors ruled in succession, but about them little is known. In 1736 Baron Van Imhoff arrived.

Van Imhoff was a ruler of a different stamp. He did not agree with those who thought that if the

VAN IMHOFF.

natives of Ceylon were well treated the Company's revenue would suffer. He found that the Company was being ruined by the thoughtless way in which the Dutch officials behaved, and by the oppressive measures they forced on the people. He found that accounts were carelessly kept in the Government offices and that too many petty officers were employed. The offices, indeed, swarmed with useless clerks who were kept there simply to please the friends of those in power, and whose cost made it even necessary to reduce the number of soldiers and sailors in Ceylon. Van Imhoff made many useful reforms in these matters, and took care that the taxes due to the Company were not oppressively collected. To increase the public revenue he allowed private persons to trade freely with Indian ports, subject to taxes on all imports and exports. This was the first time such taxes were collected in Ceylon. Agriculture was encouraged, and the land on the south-western Coast was planted with coconut palms. Justice was fairly administered, and an effort was made to prevent unnecessary litigation. Education was attended to, and a printing-press was set up in 1737 to print the Bible and other books for the religious wants of the people.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Dutch take Kandy.

NARENDRA Sinha was succeeded in 1739 by his queen's brother, SRI VIJAYA RAJA SINHA. The new king had come from Madura, and was a Hindu; but after his accession he became a Buddhist, and did a good deal to promote Buddhism during his short reign of eight years. The order of priests had again become extinct, and again foreign priests were invited from Pegu, Arakan, and Siam; but of the results of this invitation we know very little for certain. Either no priests at all came to Ceylon, or too few came to be of much use in restoring the extinct order. There is also some mention made of an attack by the Kandyans on the Portuguese who lived in various parts of the country; and we may conclude that a persecution of the Roman Catholics took place, for there were now no Portuguese armies or possessions in Ceylon.

VIJAYA RAJA SINHA 1739—1747 A.D.

KIRTI SRI RAJA SINHA (1747—1780 A.D.) was the next king. He also was from Madura and was Sri Vijaya's brother-in-law. The application to Siam for priests was renewed in 1750 A.D., for when Kirti Sri began his reign there was, we are told, "not even one priest in this beautiful island of Lanka"; but this statement cannot be liter-

KIRTI SRI RAJA SINHA 1747—1780 A.D.

A.D. 1740. War between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa.

„ 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

ally correct, for we are shortly after informed that while there were some priests who respected the laws of Buddhism, there were "others who made light of sin and led sinful and wicked lives, maintaining families and devoting themselves to wordly business;" who "busied themselves with the practice of astrology and medicine and other callings that were not proper for priests." Buddhism was, in fact, fallen and neglected, and Kirti Sri resolved to restore it to its ancient influence. The king of Siam was astonished to hear of the continued decay of Buddhism in Ceylon, and immediately sent priests and Buddhist books. The mission landed at Trincomalie and was met on its approach to Kandy by King Kirti Sri himself, who went forth in royal state and at the head of his army.

The order of priests being now restored, other measures were taken to revive Buddhism. Pilgrimages were made to the principal shrines, festivals were held, offerings were liberally bestowed, and a number of Viharas were built or repaired. In addition to these things, the king ordered the tooth relic of Buddha to be carried at the head of the procession of elephants and dancers which the Hindus were accustomed to hold annually. This was the beginning of the Perahera procession as it is now observed.

While some show of returning prosperity was evident in the Kandyan Kingdom, the Sinhalese on the west coast were growing more and more discontented with their Dutch rulers. Baron Van Imhoff's wise counsels were disregarded by his successors,

INVASION OF KANDY
1765 A.D.

A.D. 1756. Seven years' War begun.
,, ,, The Black Hole of Calcutta.
,, 1759 Quebec taken by the English.
,, 1760 George iii. King of England.

and oppressive measures were enforced on the natives. In 1761, when Jan Schreuder was Governor of Colombo, the Sinhalese in the low-country rebelled against the tyranny to which they were subject, and were readily helped by the Kandyans. At first the natives gained some slight advantage over the Dutch, but in 1762 Schreuder was recalled and Baron Van Eck was appointed Governor. Van Eck invaded Kandy in 1765 (or, as some think, in 1763), and held it for about nine months. Here the Dutch suffered severely from famine, from sickness and from the irregular attacks of the enemy. Van Eck therefore decided to return with his troops to Colombo; but on the way back they were met at Sitavaka by the Kandyans, who killed four hundred of them. The remainder of the unfortunate army struggled back to Colombo. The sudden death of Van Eck in 1765 threw Dutch affairs in Ceylon into great confusion; but Governor Falck (1765—1785) put an end to the war with Kandy by a treaty made with Kirti Sri on the 14th February, 1766. This treaty was very greatly in favour of the Dutch, for it gave them absolute possession of not only those portions of the coast which they already held before the war, but of the whole sea-coast round the island. The Dutch now had three times as much territory as they had before, and they held it with more dignity to themselves. For they were acknowledged to be lawful and independent rulers of it, and not subject, as formerly, to the King of Kandy. Kirti Sri was, on the other hand, recognised as king of the

TREATY WITH KANDYANS 1766 A.D.

A.D. 1763. Treaty of Paris.

" 1769. The "Letters of Junius."

remaining districts of the island, but he was not permitted to make any treaty with other European powers than the Dutch. Complete freedom of trade was established between the Kandyans and the native subjects of the Dutch; but all cinnamon, ivory, pepper, cardamons, coffee, arecanuts, and wax were to be sold at fixed rates to the Dutch Company alone.

Governor Falck thought it inadvisable to occupy the Kandyan kingdom; he thought it would require more money and soldiers than the Company could afford. Besides, there was no need for keeping it, since the productions of the kingdom could be bought from the Kandyans at less cost than if the Dutch were in possession.

After peace was made, Falck tried to improve the state of affairs in his government. He encouraged agriculture, and planted so much cinnamon in the low-country districts that he hardly needed any from the Kandyans. He saw that proper system was observed in collecting and in spending the revenues of the Company. He was careful not to interfere too much with the customs of the Sinhalese under his government and so prevented any discontent on their part. After a long and successful rule of twenty years, Falck died at Colombo in 1785, and was succeeded by William Jacob Van de Graaff.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The End of Dutch Rule.

MEANWHILE, the English began to consider whether it would not be of advantage to them to take Ceylon for themselves. We have seen (p. 133) that in 1664 A. D. an English ambassador visited Raja Sinha II. at Kandy. For a hundred years after that event we read of no further official visit to Ceylon from the English. They had quite enough to do in India where, by 1763 A.D. they had conquered a large part of the country including Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. They had broken the power of the French in India and had established themselves there as the principal European power in the country. The Dutch were still their greatest rivals in the trade of the East, and it was therefore thought advisable to take Ceylon:—both because that would be a serious blow to the Dutch trade, and because Ceylon was so situated in the Indian Ocean that its possession would be most useful in time of war to the English in India.

MR. PYBUS.

In 1763, the Governor of Madras sent Mr. Pybus to Kirti Sri to offer him the help of the English East India Company in his war against the Dutch. Kirti Sri was much pleased, and readily consented to a treaty of alliance; but the English took no further steps in the matter. In 1782 England and Holland were at war, and a British force sent by the Governor of Madras captured Trincomalie

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A.D. 1775. Battle of Bunker's Hill.
,, 1776. Declaration of Independence by the United States.
,, ,, Lord George Gordon Riots.

from the Dutch on the 11th January. Early in February Mr. Hugh Boyd was despatched up-country to ask the Kandyan king for assistance against the Dutch. It was a month before Boyd reached Kandy, for there were scarcely any roads through the dense jungles, and he was delayed a fortnight before he could get a definite answer from the king.

BOYD'S EMBASSY.

Kirti Sri had died in 1780, and the king who received Boyd was his brother RAJADHI RAJA SINHA (1780—1798 A.D.) He had not forgotten the previous English mission, twenty years earlier, and reminded Boyd of it when the latter proposed a treaty. The Kandyan king had then readily accepted the proposals of the English, but the latter had omitted to do anything more in the matter till the present time, when they found themselves at war with the Dutch. It seemed to the king that the English were acting selfishly in the matter, and not, as they professed, from any desire to help the Kandyans. The king therefore declined to make any treaty except directly with the king of Great Britain. With this answer Boyd had to be satisfied; but when he returned to Trincomalie, after his long absence, he found that fort in the possession of the French; for at this time England was at war with France and Spain as well as with Holland. During Boyd's absence in Kandy, the French Admiral Suffrein had surprised the garrison and taken the fort, 31st August 1782.

FRENCH TAKE TRINCOMALIE 1782

A.D. 1786. Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
„ 1789. Storming of the Bastille. French Revolution.
„ 1793. War against France.

Trincomalie remained in the possession of the French till the beginning of the following year when it was restored to the Dutch, and the English left Ceylon alone till 1795 A.D. Van de Graaff became Governor of Colombo in 1785, and during his rule of eight years tried to make some reduction in the heavy cost of Ceylon to his Government. On this account he sent away several regiments of European troops. He was also the first to introduce paper money into the island. In 1793 Van Angelbeeck was appointed Governor, and two years later, war broke out again between England and Holland.

The English in Ceylon

The English had now an opportunity of conquering Ceylon, and the Governor of Madras lost no time in beginning the attempt. On the 1st August, 1795 an English force arrived at Trincomalie, and compelled the garrison to surrender after a siege of three weeks. This was the only occasion when any real resistance was offered to the English by the Dutch in Ceylon. The latter appear to have been completely unfit for any resistance. They were badly supported from Holland. Indeed, it is not quite clear what the intentions of Holland were with regard to the English occupation of Ceylon; for some think that Ceylon was secretly given away to England by the ruler of Holland. At any rate the Dutch in the island had so long and so eagerly devoted themselves to acquiring riches by commerce that they had forgotten how to fight. There was no discipline among the troops, or union among the citizens, and Van Angelbeeck's conduct during the war is still a matter on which people hold different opinions. Many of

the Dutch accused him of treachery to their interests and of being secretly on the side of the English. However that may be, there was very little fighting after Trincomalie was taken. Jaffna surrendered at the first summons in September; and on the 16th February, 1796, Colombo was surrendered without a blow being struck in its defence. Shortly before this, Van Angelbeeck had signed an agreement by which Galle and the other possessions of the Dutch were ceded to the English, who now took the place that the Portuguese first, and then the Dutch, had occupied in Ceylon. Many of the Dutch officers and citizens were at their own choice conveyed to Batavia. Others (including Van Angelbeeck, who died in Colombo in 1799) preferred to remain in Ceylon where they had married or acquired property; some of them afterwards took service under the British.

The peace of Amiens in 1802 brought to an end the war between England and France, and it was then agreed that Ceylon should be a British possession.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Results of Dutch and Portuguese Rule.

IT is well at this point to review the Portuguese and Dutch periods in Ceylon, and to examine what was gained or lost to Ceylon by the rule of these nations. We shall try to see how each nation made use of its power and what traces each has left of its former presence and authority.

The Portuguese held Ceylon—that is, the coast provinces of Ceylon—for one hundred and fifty three years (1505 -1658 A. D), while the Dutch held it for one hundred and thirty-eight years (1658—1796 A.D.) Both nations, therefore, were in possession for nearly the same length of time. They have both disappeared as governing powers. What has each nation left behind to show that it onee existed and governed in this island ?

The Portuguese have, first of all, left their RELIGION.

RELIGION

They were Christians of the Roman Catholic branch of the Christian Church while the Dutch were Protestant Christians—differing from the Roman Catholics in many important matters. In all the conquests the Portuguese made, their object was not only to acquire fresh territory but also to make new converts to their faith. They would allow no other religion to exist where they were rulers. They were ready to help native princes, but they made it a condition that the native princes must first be baptised and received into the Roman Catholic Church. It is quite true that the Portuguese did not always practise the gentleness and charity which their religion taught. They were cruel, and thought very little of what was due by them to the peoples whose territory they invaded and whose freedom they took away. But the extension of their religion was nevertheless one of their principal aims. They were the first to bring Christianity into Ceylon. Their missionaries came in large numbers. These missionaries preached and taught unceasingly, protected their converts, and braved danger and death for their sakes. The work they did then is still

going on. Even at the present day there are more Roman Catholic Christians in Ceylon than all other Christians put together.

The Dutch cared very little about converting the natives to Christianity. They did not altogether neglect this duty, for they opened schools, translated into Sinhalese and Tamil, and printed, a great many portions of the Bible, and appointed missionaries to preach the Gospel in the principal towns. The ruins of old Dutch Churches are still to be found in every part of the low-country. But it was the religious wants of their own community that they thought of chiefly in making these provisions. Apart from that, their object was to make as much money as they could by trade. It was for that reason they valued Ceylon. It was for that reason they patiently endured the insults of the Kandyan kings. But both because they disliked and distrusted the Roman Catholics, and because they thought it would be wrong to make no effort at all to teach the Christian religion, the Dutch did something in their own way to make converts. It was not a good way. Laws were passed forbidding natives to hold any office under Government unless they had first been admitted by baptism into the Dutch Protestant Church. This had the bad effect of making numbers of people Christians in name only, while at heart they remained Buddhists or Hindus; so that when the Dutch occupation ceased, those who had been nominally converted at once gave up their professions of Christianity. This was not the case with the great majority of Roman Catholics, who adhered to their creed after the Portuguese had left, and in spite of persecution at the hands of

the Dutch and of their own country-men. Dutch Protestantism is now represented chiefly by the great church at Wolfendahl, which was built one hundred and fifty years ago.

The Portuguese left behind their LANGUAGE also.

LANGUAGE

The Dutch did all they could to put an end to the use of the Portuguese language in Ceylon and to extend their own. To compel Sinhalese children to learn Dutch, they shaved the heads of all slaves who could not speak that language, and fined the owners of the slaves. But all their efforts were in vain. There are very few now in Ceylon who know Dutch. Nobody speaks it. A few Dutch words (like the Sinhalese for *potato*, *hair-pin*, *office-room)* have been taken into the Sinhalese language. But the Portuguese language still survives, though in a corrupt form. It is spoken and written, even by the descendants of the Dutch. Books have been printed and are still being printed in that language. Portuguese words have been freely adopted into Sinhalese and (like *almirah* and *kraal*) into English. Thousands of Sinhalese bear Portuguese names.

Many reasons may, of course, be given for the prevalence of the Portuguese language over the the Dutch. The Portuguese came before the Dutch, and the latter found on their arrival that the Sinhalese were already acquainted with a language by means of which the Dutch could converse with them. Then, the Portuguese language is less harsh in sound, and easier of pronunciation than the Dutch. But whatever the explanation may be, it is noteworthy that the Portuguese language remains to this day in Ceylon

while the Dutch survives only in old official documents and in certain words adopted by the Sinhalese.

But the Dutch are not without memorials of their own in Ceylon. They have left us their system of LAW. It is the old Law of the Romans altered and adapted by the Dutch, and therefore called the *Roman-Dutch Law*. To a very great extent that law is recognised and followed by courts of justice in Ceylon at the present day; but that is not the full measure of its influence. It was of great benefit, before the English came, in improving the social and moral condition of the Sinhalese. The Dutch interfered very little with the customs of the natives except in so far as they were contrary to civilised customs. But they did make important alterations in the laws regulating marriage and the succession of property, and in this way they introduced a higher moral tone among their native subjects.

LAW.

Another remnant of Dutch rule may be found in the IRRIGATION WORKS they undertook and in the encouragement they gave to agriculture by the introduction of new products. The canal from Colombo to Puttalam, which is of so much use in our day, is the work of the Dutch; and in various parts of the island they built or restored other works by which agriculture was greatly encouraged and improved.

PUBLIC WORKS.

There was very little difference in the way in which the native Sinhalese were treated by the Dutch and by the Portuguese. The latter in their religious zeal and military ardour, the former in their commercial greeed, oppressed the natives by vexatious laws and extravagant demands. The Dutch were, perhaps, less

cruel; but all that either nation cared for was the advancement of its religion, or its glory, or its wealth. Its subjects had little liberty, and it is no wonder we read so frequently of rebellions among them. But we should take into account the fact that both Dutch and Portuguese lived at a time when men everywhere were cruel and regardless of the interests of others. It was only in much later times that a gentler and more considerate spirit prevailed.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Early Troubles of British Rule

WHEN in 1796 the British became masters of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon a difficulty arose about the future government of these possessions. They had been ceded by the Dutch to the English East India Company and not directly to the English Government. The English Company had now brought a very large part of India under its rule, and wished to have Ceylon also. The English Government in London preferred that Ceylon should be governed directly by the king of England (George iii.). But as there was a chance that, when the war between England and Holland was brought to an end, Ceylon might be restored to the Dutch, the East India Com-

CEYLON AND MADRAS, 1796—1798 A. D.

A. D. 1797. Battle off Cape St. Vincent.

pany was allowed, for the time, to manage the affairs of the island. So it happened that Ceylon became part of the territory ruled by the Governor of Madras.

Embassies were sent to and from the king of Kandy to arrange a treaty of alliance between the British and the Kandyans, and Mr. Andrews, a member of the Madras Civil Service was appointed to superintend the collection of revenue in the districts held by the English. Mr. Andrews thoughtlessly made an entire change in the existing taxes and in the methods by which the taxes were collected. He understood only the system of taxation practised in Madras and directed that that system should be enforced in Ceylon as well. At the same time he brought over a large number of Tamil subordinate officials who took the place of the Sinhalese Mudaliyars and headmen. The Tamil officials—*Dubashes*, as they were called—took advantage of the opportunity to plunder and oppress the people. Naturally there was much jealousy and discontent which led to an insurrection in 1797. The rising was quieted with some difficulty, and Colonel de Meuron was sent by the governor of Madras to ascertain why the people had revolted and what measures should be taken to satisfy them. De Meuron reported that the changes so violently and abruptly made by Mr. Andrews were unwise, and that the old system should, for the present, at least, be resumed. When Mr. Pitt, the great Prime Minister of George iii, heard of these things he at once decided to take Ceylon from the East India Company and to govern it directly from England. Accordingly on the 12th October 1798 Ceylon was declared to be a

Crown Colony, * and the Honourable Frederick North (afterwards Earl of Guildford) was appointed first Governor of Ceylon.

MR. NORTH.

Mr. North resumed the old system of taxation, and dismissed most of the Madras Civilians whose extortions and inefficiency were ruining the Colony.

In the same year, 1798 A. D., Rajadhi Raja Sinha died, leaving no children. Pilame Talawwa, his First Adigar or Chief Minister, contrived to secure the election of a Malabar youth, named *Kannesami*, to the throne of Kandy. Kannesami was a nephew of one of the late King's wives, but he had no right to the throne while nearer relatives of the king were alive. Besides he was young and had had no proper education; but these very disadvantages made him useful to Pilame Talawwe who intended the king to be merely an instrument to serve his own purposes. The First Adigar aimed at the throne himself, and sought by his accession to restore the ancient Sinhalese dynasty; for he claimed to be descended from the royal family of Ceylon.

PILAME TALAWWA.

On his accession Kannesami took the title of SRI VIKRAMA RAJA SINHA. The nearest relatives of Rajadhi Raja Sinha were imprisoned, and the Second Adigar, who remained faithful to their cause, was murdered by Pilame Talawwa, while Muttusami the brother of Rajadhi's principal queen, and the lawful heir to the throne fled to the British for protection. Pilame Talawwa now began a secret correspondence

* *A Crown Colony* is one which is ruled directly by the Imperial Government through a Governor and a Legislative Council, the members of the Council being nominated by the Governor, not elected by the people.

with Mr. North in which neither party appears to have acted honourably. The Kandyan confessed to Mr. North his hatred of the Malabars and his ambition to revive the Sinhalese dynasty in his own person. He offered to dethrone and kill the king, and, if the British would assist him in his plans, to reign in Kandy as a prince subject to Great Britain. Mr. North seems to have agreed to these treacherous proposals, but he made it a condition that the king's life should be spared. It was arranged that an ambassador should be sent to Kandy on the pretext of making a treaty; but he was to be accompanied by a force strong enough to overawe the king and to carry out Pilame Talawwa's designs.

General Macdonald was appointed ambassador, and in March 1800 he set out to Kandy with his "escort," as it was called, of about 2,000 armed men. But the king grew suspicious, and alarmed at the approach of so large a force, refused to allow the general to enter Kandy except with only a few men, too few for the success of the plot. Nothing was done; no treaty was arranged; and the general returned to Colombo to wait for a more favourable opportunity.

The opportunity soon came, for Pilame Talawwa had made up his mind to force a war by annoying the British, and in that way compelling them to fight against the Kandyans. If there was war, thought Pilame Talawwa, the king could be put to death and his own authority established. Then he could make his own terms with the British. To bring about this

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A. D. 1800 Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
„ „ Austrians defeated by Napoleon at Marengo.
1802 Treaty of Amiens.

result, he put up the people at Negombo and Manaar to rebel against the British. He spoke against Mr. North to the king, and against the king to Mr. North. Lastly, he seized the property of some Moormen who were returning from Kandy to Puttalam. These Moormen were British subjects, and Mr. North demanded compensation for the wrongs they had suffered. It was refused. War was then declared.

The British troops advanced to Kandy in two divisions. General Macdonald marched from Colombo with one division, and Colonel Barbut with another from Trincomalie. Their united forces numbered more than 3000 men. They arrived together at Kandy in February 1803, and found the place abandoned by its inhabitants, the king and Pilame Talawwa having fled to Hangurankette. General Macdonald thereupon declared Muttusami king, and made a treaty with him, by which it was agreed that a strong British force should be kept in Kandy. This bargain really meant that the British were the actual masters of Kandy, and that Muttusami was to act in obedience to them.

THE BRITISH IN KANDY
A. D. 1803.

Pilame Talawwa kept up a secret correspondence with the British all this time. It did not suit him at all that Muttusami was appointed king. This was not what he expected, and in his disappointment he determined to revenge himself on the British. He therefore offered to betray the king (Sri Vikrama) if troops were sent to Hangurankette. Eight hundred men set out under Colonel Baillie for this purpose. They were led through dangerous mountain passes, where they were attacked

by the Kandyans at every point of their march. When they reached Hangurankette, the king had escaped. Colonel Baillie rightly suspected that the Adigar intended the destruction of his troops, and returned to Kandy. The Adigar next tried to seize the governor, Mr. North. The two men met by arrangement at Dambadeniya; but the accidental arrival of Colonel Barbut with three hundred Malays from Kandy, to pay his respects to the Governor, defeated the Adigar's cunning plans.

The British garrison left in Kandy, after the main body of troops had returned to Colombo, soon found themselves placed in a position of great danger. Their numbers were daily diminished by the desertion of many Malays who joined the Kandyans, and by the death of many Europeans from sickness. The hospitals were crowded with patients. On all sides the Kandyans were gathering together in arms, and on the morning of the 24th June 1803 the British were attacked. By two o'clock in the afternoon their resistance was over. Major Davie, who was in command, offered to surrender on condition that the British troops and Muttusami were allowed to march out of Kandy with their arms, and that the sick and wounded in the hospitals should be cared for until thy could be removed to Trincomalie or Colombo. These terms were agreed to, and at five o'clock in the evening, the garrison marched out. There were fourteen British officers, twenty British soldiers, two hundred and fifty Malays, one hundred and forty gun-lascars (also Malays). With them went Muttusami and his attendants. No less than one hundred and twenty

MAJOR DAVIE

sick and wounded British soldiers were left behind in the hospital at Kandy.

Major Davie and his troops went but a short distance, till they reached Watapulua on the banks of the Mahaveliganga. Here they were obliged to halt till they could find means of crossing, as the river was high through heavy rains. At this moment messengers came to them from the king, asking that Muttusami should be given up, and promising that, if this were done, they should be provided with boats. Major Davie at first refused so unreasonable a request, but when he saw that his request would end in the massacre of all the troops, he consented, and explained to Muttusami that there was no help for it; they were not strong enough to resist the king, and the king had promised to treat him kindly. Muttusami was not deceived by the king's assurances of kind treatment, but he was astonished at Davie's conduct. "Is it possible," he exclaimed "that the triumphant arms of England can be so humbled as to fear the menaces of such cowards as the Kandyans!" He was taken by the Sinhalese to Kandy with all his attendants, and there he met his death with dignity and courage. "I am at the king's mercy" was all he would say in his defence.

MUTTUSAMI

The consequences of Major Davie's weak surrender now became evident. The promised boats were not supplied, but instead large numbers of Kandyans surrounded the British and required them to return to Kandy unarmed. To their shame they obeyed. They laid down their arms, and were marched

MASSACRE OF BRITISH TROOPS.

towards the capital. When they had gone some distance, a halt was called, and first the Malay soldiers were asked if they would leave the British and enter into the service of the Kandyan king. Some of them refused and were put to death; the others and decided to accept the terms offered to them, were conducted to Kandy. When they were gone the turn of the British soldiers came. They were led out, two by two, at a distance from one another, and mercilessly murdered by the Kaffirs in the service of Vikrama Raja Sinha. Only two officers—Major Davie and Captain Rumley of the Malay Regiment—were spared in this massacre, and only one soldier—Corporal Barnsley—escaped. He had been clubbed with the rest and left for dead, but afterwards recovering, he swam across the river and came to Fort Macdowell with the terrible news. It was discovered at the same time that, shortly before the massacre of Major Davie's troops, the king had cruelly put to death the sick men left in the hospital at Kandy.

Major Davie and Captain Rumley were taken to Kandy and then to the king at Hangurankette. They never returned to their countrymen. Though their lives were spared they were closely watched, and both died in captivity. Nuraddin, the captain of the Malays, and his brother were also taken before the king, and their conduct at this time is the one bright spot in this dark picture. The Adigar required them to prostrate themselves before the king according to the custom of the country. They refused to do so, saying that they also were of royal blood, and could not stoop to such an act of humiliation. The king was rather

NURADDIN.

pleased with this show of independence. He asked them to enter his service and take command of his Malay troops. This too they refused, because, as they said, they had already sworn allegiance to the British and could not break their word. The king sent them to prison for a month in the hope that imprisonment would break their spirit and induce them to change their minds; but at the end of the month when they were again led before the king and offered the choice between his service and immediate death, they stedfastly chose the latter, and met their doom like brave and honourable men.

There was astonishment and dismay in Colombo when these events became known to the garrison there. "It was," says one who lived there at the time, "like a clap of thunder, which had been for some time portended by a dark and gloomy sky: and was followed by an awful and over-powering calm." The British wanted, indeed, to take an immediate and merciless revenge; but this could not be. They had very few soldiers able to take the field, and these were speedily required nearer home.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

War against Kandy.

KANDYANS ATTACK THE BRITISH

THE hill country was now again in the hands of the Kandyan king who was naturally very proud of his success in having destroyed the British troops. He was, in fact, so puffed up that he resolved to attack the British in their own territory

and, if possible, to put them altogether out of Ceylon. He used all his influence to stir up the Sinhalese in various parts of the island to rise against the foreigners, and by the end of July rebellions broke out at Matara, Chilaw, Puttalam, Kottiyar, Manaar, and other places on the coast. Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha himself, at the head of a large force marched against Hanwelle on the 6th of September, 1804. Captain Pollock, who was in command of the small garrison

HANWELLE.

at that place waited till the Kandyan army advanced to within two hundred yards of his house. While they halted here, he sent a detachment under Lieutenant Mercer by an unseen path to take them in flank, and shortly after went with the rest of the garrison directly against the enemy. The Kandyans were fired upon by both the British detachments at the same time. For two hours the Kandyans resisted, but when a shot reached the place where the king was stationed, he fled, followed by the whole army. The slaughter was terrible; all the roads near Hanwelle were strewed with the bodies of the slain; and it was only that the British were quite worn out with the day's work (for some of them had just recovered from fever), or the pursuit would have been carried much farther and most probably the king would have been captured. As it was, he escaped, and in his disappointment and rage at having failed in his attempt, he ordered the execution of numbers of his subjects.

Captain Pollock followed up the enemy later on, and routed them again at Ruanwella, where they had rallied and where large reinforcements had gathered to their support. Hambantota, Batticaloa, Jaffna, and

the other places besieged by the Kandyans, were similarly relieved, and the Kandyans were at length driven back to their fastnesses in the mountains. In 1804, the British purposed an attack on Kandy, and arrangements were made by which troops were to start from six different points on the coast and meet at Kandy. Orders were issued to this effect, and to Captain Johnston among other British officers. Captain Johnston was to march from Batticaloa; but afterwards the attack on Kandy was put off, and by some accident it happened that Captain Johnston was not informed of the change in the arrangements. He, therefore, on the 20th September marched with three hundred men (of whom eighty-two were Europeans), and fought his way to Kandy, which he occupied for three days. Finding the place deserted, and his position one of great danger, as the other detachments had not come up, he retired to Trincomalie which he reached on the 20th October with the loss of only ten British soldiers. This daring feat made a deep impression on the minds of the Kandyans, and it forms a great contrast to Major Davie's weak surrender at Watepulua.

CAPTAIN JOHNSTON.

From this time till 1815, A. D. there was no regular war between the Kandyans and the British, as neither party felt strong enough to invade the other's territory. But villages were burned and harvests destroyed by both, whenever there was a chance.

Mr. North ceased to be Governor in 1805, and was succeeded by Sir THOMAS MAITLAND, who was Governor for the next seven years. The severe laws which the Dutch made against Roman Catholics were repealed

in 1806, and the British were gradually introducing order and good government into their possessions. In 1812 General Sir ROBERT BROWNBIGG succeeded as Governor, and further efforts were made to improve the condition of British subjects in Ceylon. Protestant missionaries now began to work in the island with the conversion of the natives as their principal object. The Baptist missionaries came in 1812, the Wesleyan missionaries in 1814, the American missionaries to Jaffna in 1816, and the Church missionaries in 1818. In 1812 the privilege of trial by jury was granted to prisoners charged with serious offences, and efforts were made to establish schools for education in English.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CEYLON.

But in the Kandyan kingdom all was confusion and horror. The king had entered upon a course of tyranny which his subjects, submissive as they were, found unbearable. He distrusted his chiefs and drove many of them into rebellion. He forced the people to work for him without payment. It was by this forced labour that, about the year 1806, A. D., the lake in Kandy and the Pattiripua (the Octagonal Tower of the Dalada Maligawa) were constructed. They add greatly to the beauty of the town of Kandy. But they were built at the cost of much suffering to the people, and increased the unpopularity of the king.

THE KANDYAN TYRANNY.

At about the same time the Dissave of Seven Korales died and the king made a change in the government of that district. He did not appoint one

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A.D. 1805 Battle of Trafalgar. Nelson killed.

" 1807 Slave Trade abolished.

man, as was the ancient custom, to be Dissave, but divided the district between Ehelapola and Molligodda, his second and third Adigars. This change caused serious discontent. The people of the district complained that it was not only contrary to custom, but also needlessly burdensome; for two Dissaves would require double services and double duties. Accordingly the people resisted the change and rose in rebellion. Pilame Talawwa, the first Adigar, then promised the king that if the charge of the district was given over to him and his nephew, Ratwatte, the people could be quieted. This was done, and the rebellion ceased. But the king naturally grew more suspicious than ever of Pilame Talawwa, and more jealous of his influence with the people; while Pilame Talawwa's hatred of the king grew stronger in proportion. The Adigar next proposed a marriage between his son and a grand-daughter of Kirti Sri. Convinced by this proposal that the Adigar was scheming to get the throne, the king found some excuse, and in a short time, deprived him of all his high offices. Pilame Talawwa, on his part, plotted to assassinate the king. The plot failed and the Adigar was beheaded with several members of his family in 1812.

PILAME TALAWWA'S FALL.

A. D. 1808. Peninsular war began.

" 1812. Napoleon's Invasion of Russia.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Ehelapola Tragedy.

EHELAPOLA, the nephew of Pilame Talawwa, succeeded to the office of First Adigar, Molligodda being appointed Second Adigar. The former was from the first suspected of disloyalty by the king. He had probably taken part in the recent plot, and he was quite as cunning and ambitious as his predecessor in office. The king did not, however, show any ill-will at the time, and Ehelapola did all he could to convince the king of his loyalty. The first sign of hostility between them was shown on the occasion of the king's marriage, when Ehelapola's presents to his sovereign were returned as unworthy of acceptance.

EHELAPOLA'S REVOLT.

In his dissavony of Sabaragamuwa Ehelapola was very popular; he tried to rule well and to please his subjects, but his popularity served only to increase the king's fear that Ehelapola was plotting to seize the throne. Certain charges were brought against him and he was ordered to return immediately to Kandy. The order was not obeyed, and the king in anger deprived the minister at once of all his high offices, imprisoned his family, and took away his property. Molligodda (who is thought to have jealously set the king against Ehelapola) was appointed First Adigar in his rival's place, and was despatched to Sabaragamuwa against the rebel. In May, 1814, after a weak effort at resistance, and failing to receive the help he expected from the British, Ehelapola fled to Colombo and there sought the protection of the

Governor. Molligodda laid waste Ehelapola's dissavony and took large numbers of prisoners to Kandy. The king's rage, when he learnt of Ehelapola's flight, was terrible. One after another of those he suspected of friendship with the fugitive were tortured and put to death.

But for Ehelapola's family was reserved a vengeance that even at this day we cannot recall without a shudder. It is thus described by one who collected the information from those who had themselves seen the tragedy:—

THE TRAGEDY.

"Hurried along by the flood of his revenge, the tyrant, lost to every tender feeling, resolved to punish Ehelapola, who had escaped, through his family, who still remained in his power: he sentenced his wife and children, and his brother and his wife, to death; the brother and children to be beheaded, and the females to be drowned. In front of the queen's palace, and between the Nata and Maha Vishnu Dewales, as if to shock and insult the gods as well as the sex, the wife of Ehelapola and his children were brought from prison, where they had been in charge of female gaolers, and delivered over to their executioners. The lady, with great resolution, maintained hers and her children's innocence and her lord's; at the same time, submitting to the king's pleasure, and offering up her own and her offsprings' lives, with the fervent hope that her husband would be benefited by the sacrifice. Having uttered these sentiments aloud, she desired her eldest child to submit to his fate; the poor boy, who was eleven years old, clung to his mother terrified and crying; her second son, of nine years, heroically stepped forward, and bade his brother not to be

afraid—he would show him the way to die! By the blow of a sword the head of this noble child was severed from his body; streaming with blood, and hardly inanimate, it was thrown into a rice mortar, the pestle was put into the mother's hands, and she was ordered to pound it, or be disgracefully tortured. To avoid the infamy, the wretched woman did lift up the pestle and let it fall. One by one the heads of her children were cut off; and one by one the poor mother...........but the circumstance is too dreadful to be dwelt on. One of the children was an infant, and it was plucked from its mother's breast to be beheaded: when the head was severed from the body, the milk it had just drawn ran out mingled with its blood. During this tragical scene, the crowd who had assembled to witness it wept and sobbed aloud, unable to suppress their feelings of grief and horror. Palihapanè Dissave was so affected that he fainted, and was expelled his office for showing such sensibility. During two days, the whole of Kandy, with the exception of the tyrant's court, was as one house of mourning and lamentation, and so deep was the grief that not a fire, it is said, was kindled, no food was dressed, and a general fast was held. After the execution of her children, the sufferings of the mother were speedily relieved. She and her sister-in-law were led to the little tank in the immediate neighbourhood of Kandy, called Bogambara, and drowned."

(Dr. John Davy's "Account of the Interior of Ceylon;" quoted by Tennent.)

CHAPTER XL.

The End of Sinhalese Independence.

SIR Robert Brownrigg received Ehelapola at Colombo with much sympathy for his sufferings and with promises of assistance against the king. But nothing could be done against Sri Vikrama Sinha until the Governor was quite certain that the Kandyan people were fully determined to submit no longer to their tyrant. Several Kandyan chiefs followed Ehelapola to Colombo, or secretly invited the British to invade Kandy. The latter, however, expected that the king would very soon make an attack on their own possessions, and waited till then; for the king, elated by his success against Ehelapola, and believing that the British were too weak or too frightened to resist him, had begun preparations for a great war.

It happened, about this time, that ten native merchants, who were British subjects. were barbarously ill-treated by Sri Vikrama. They had gone into a Kandyan village to trade with the people as usual, but they were unexpectedly seized and taken to Kandy. Here their arms, ears, and noses were cut off by the king's orders, and seven of them died in consequence of this. The remaining three were driven to Colombo, and on hearing their story the Governor decided to declare war at once against the Kandyan king. Another reason for fighting was that the Kandyans had crossed the boundary river of Sitavaka and plundered the inhabitants, who were also British subjects.

CAUSES OF THE WAR.

On the 10th January 1815, Sir Robert Brownrigg issued a proclamation setting forth the reasons that compelled the British to declare war against Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha. This proclamation stated definitely that the war was not a war against the Kandyan nation, but against the tyrant, who oppressed them; who had "by the violation of every religious and moral law become an object of abhorrence to mankind." The Kandyan people were promised full protection of person and property so long as the British advance was not opposed by them. Their religion should be held sacred, their chiefs should preserve their accustomed ranks and dignities, and their ancient laws and institutions should be maintained.

British Proclamation. 1815 A.D.

The British troops marched from Colombo the next day, 11th January, and on the 14th February entered Kandy in triumph. They met with scarcely any resistance, for the king was hated by most of his subjects, and few would fight on his behalf. Chief after chief revolted from him as the British advanced, and the Adigar Molligodda was among those who deserted. But the king would not give up the foolish idea that he was able to overcome the invaders, and those who brought him news of defeat were put to death. At length the near approach of the British roused him from his dream of security, and with a few attendants of his own race he fled to Dumbara. Here, in a cave near the village of Medamahanuwara, he was captured by Ekneligoda Dissawa and some of Ehelapola's men from Sabara-

Conquest of Kandy. A.D. 1815

gamuwa. The captive king was handed over to Mr. (afterwards Sir) John D' Oyly, a British general, by whom he was treated with all the respect due to his rank, and brought safely to Kandy.

The Convention of 1815 A.D.

A convention was held in the Audience Hall (now the District Court) of Kandy, on the 2nd March 1815. Sir Robert Brownrigg occupied the principal seat, and the Kandyan chiefs came in according to their rank. First and alone entered Ehelapola, who was received with special honour and given a seat at the Governor's right hand; for it was he who had begun the revolt against the king, who had urged the British to take Kandy, and who had secured the capture of the king. After him came Molligodda, and then the Dissavas and other chiefs. A treaty was read both in English and in Sinhalese, and formally agreed to by all present. By this treaty, Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha was deposed and the Kandyan kingdom was declared to belong to the British Crown; Buddhism was to be held inviolable, and its temples and priests were to be protected and maintained as they had always been; the laws of the country were to remain unaltered; and the king's revenues were to be levied as before.

The British flag was then hoisted, and the firing of cannon announced the establishment of British rule in Kandy. Sinhalese independence was now at an end. The ancient rule which had lasted for two thousand three hundred and fifty-eight years, now gave place for ever to foreign sway.

A. D. 1815 Battle of Waterloo.

TABLE

Showing Kings of the Suluwansa or Lower Dynasty from 1527 to 1815 A.D.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.	Capital.	Length of Reign*
160	Vijaya Bahu V.	1527	Kotté	7
161	Bhuvaneka Bahu VII.	1534	"	8
162	Don Juan Dharmapála	1542	"	39
163	Raja Sinha I.	1581	Sitaváka	11
164	Vimala Dharma Suriya I.	1592	Kandy	12
165	Senerat	1604	"	30
166	Raja Sinha II.	1634	"	50
167	Vimala Dharma Suriya II.... ...	1684	"	22
168	Vira Parakrama Narendra Sinha ...	1706	"	33
169	Sri Vijaya Raja Sinha	1739	"	8
170	Kirti Sri Raja Sinha	1747	"	33
171	Rajadhi Raja Sinha	1780	"	18
172	Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha	1798 (to 1815)	"	17

* In *years* unless otherwise stated.

CHAPTER XLI.

The Rebellion of 1817—1818 A.D.

WE now enter upon what may be called the Modern Period of Ceylon history; that is, the history of recent times, when most of the customs and institutions with which we are now familiar were first established. From March 1815, the British were masters not of the coast provinces only, but of the whole island of Ceylon,—a possession which the Portuguese declared they would "rather lose all India than imperil"; which the Dutch regarded as "a jewel in the Company's coronet" and which the British prize as the "key of the Indian Ocean and the great insular outpost of the British Empire in the East."

But, as might be expected, there was no little trouble at first in bringing the Kandyans to understand the nature of British rule, and how it differed from the rule of the Kandyans.

THE KING DEPORTED.

In January, 1816, Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha and his family were taken over to Madras, and thence to Vellore, where the deposed king died sixteen years afterwards. The Kandyan provinces were placed under the control of a Resident, and a small military force was retained in Kandy to keep order. Ehelapola, who expected that, in view of the important services he had rendered, the Governor would reward him with the government of the Kandyan provinces, was bitterly disappointed. High office was offered to him, but he declined this as well as large rewards of money. He preferred,

he said haughtily, to be known simply as the "Friend of the British Government." Molligodda was thereupon made First Adigar.

The Kandyan people were sullenly indifferent to the change of rulers. They were glad to be rid of the Malabar tyrant, but they were not altogether pleased to be governed by foreigners so utterly unlike them as the British. The chiefs, on the other hand, were grievously discontented. Under the British they found that the greater part of their power was taken away. They could not, as formerly, do as they pleased with their subjects, and they were much less respected. The British did not understand all the caste prejudices of the Sinhalese, and consequently offended them in various ways, even when no offence was intended. So the chiefs gradually stirred up the people to revolt, and by October, 1817, the whole Kandyan country was roused against the British. The first outbreak was in Uva. A pretender was set up, and several chiefs, led by Keppitipola, Dissave of Uva, supported him. The rebellion lasted a whole year. On both sides the losses were heavy, but the Kandyans naturally suffered more. Their villages were burnt down, their plantations were laid waste, their cattle were destroyed, and all persons found with arms in their hands were mercilessly killed. The British troops suffered, on their part, from the hardships and disease that accompanied a warfare in an unfamiliar and unhealthy country. They almost regretted that they had entered Kandy. Their efforts appeared to be useless, for in every district there was revolt, and

KEPPITIPOLA.

A. D. 1816 Bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth.

no sign of success in establishing order. At last, when they were seriously thinking of withdrawing their forces and returning to the coast, they found the Kandyans willing to surrender. The latter had suffered enough, and besides, the chiefs grew jealous of one another and became disunited. Keppitipola was soon defeated and taken prisoner, and the rebellion was at an end in October, 1818. Two of the rebel chiefs, Keppitipola, and Madugalla of Dumbara, were beheaded. It was suspected that Ehelapola was concerned in the rebellion, and a few years later, he was banished to the island of Mauritius, where he died in 1829.

The rebellion of 1817—18 was in effect a breach of the treaty made at the Convention of 1815, since by agreeing to that treaty the Kandyans had accepted British rule. A new arrangement was therefore entered upon.

A NEW TREATY
1818 A. D.

By this the people were released from all forced labour except for the construction of roads and bridges; all taxes were abolished, and in their place a single tax of one-tenth of the produce of the paddy lands was substituted; British officers were employed to administer justice, while native headmen were appointed to collect the revenue, and chiefs were paid fixed salaries instead of being dependent upon the contributions of the people they were placed over. A very important change was also made in the relations between the British Government and Buddhism. By the treaty of 1815 Buddhism was declared "inviolable," and its rites and places of worship were promised maintenance and protection. But it was found that Buddhist

priests were the chief promoters of the rebellion, and that they were the most bitter of all in their hostility to the British. The new agreement merely stated that "the priests as well as the ceremonies of Buddhism shall receive the respect which in former times was shown to them."

Sir Robert Brownrigg left Ceylon early in 1820. He had governed Ceylon for eight years. For almost exactly the same period the Chief Justice of Ceylon was Sir Alexander Johnstone (1811—1820), to whose wise and far-seeing counsels this island owes much. It was he who took the chief part in repealing the laws against Roman Catholics in 1806. It was he, too, who introduced the jury system into Ceylon. In 1816, he persuaded the Burghers (Dutch descendants) to set free their slaves, and two years later, he induced many of the Sinhalese slave-holders to do the same. How enlightened this policy was may be understood from the fact that it was not till 1833 that slavery was abolished by law in other British Colonies.

SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE.

Sir Edward Barnes was Lieutenant-Governor of Ceylon from February 1820 to the same month in 1822, when Sir EDWARD PAGET arrived as Governor. The latter held office for about ten months (till November) and left Ceylon. Sir James Campbell was Lieutenant-Governor till January 1824, when Sir EDWARD BARNES became Governor. A rebellion in 1823 was the only event of any importance during these years.

A. D. 1819. The Six Acts carried in Parliament.
" 1820. Death of George iii.

CHAPTER XLII.

Peace and Progress.

The Road to Kandy.

WHEN Kandy was taken in 1815, Sir Robert Brownrigg thought of making a road to it from Colombo. The Kandyan kingdom, surrounded by its high, forest-clad mountains, was still a land of mystery. It had long been comparatively safe from foreign invasion and permanent conquest by the difficulty and danger of marching through the steep and narrow passes that led to its capital. To reach it was no safe or easy task. Sir Robert saw clearly that a good military road from Colombo to Kandy would immensely strengthen the British occupation. Cannon would have no longer to be dragged with endless labour through the sand, or across dense forests. Heavy burdens would no longer need to be carried on men's shoulders. Communication between the hill country and the coast would be easy. But the rebellion of 1817 obliged the Governor to put aside his plans for the completion of this road.

Sir Edward Barnes made this work the chief business of his administration. There was much to be done. Rivers had to be bridged, and tunnels had to be cut through rocks. The road had to wind upwards, along the irregular courses of ravines, and by the edge of steep precipices. The route lay along wild and feverish districts. But by 1831, after nearly ten years' labour it was completed, and the Sinhalese were filled with wonder. One of their

A. D. 1823. Greek war against Turkey.

prophets had foretold that "the Kandyan kingdom would perish when a bullock should be driven through a certain hill, and a horseman ride through a rock." It seemed that the prophecy was now fulfilled, and that Kandyan independence was indeed at an end.

A monument at the top of the Kadugannawa pass commemorates the services of Captain Dawson of the Royal Engineers, who died at Colombo in March 1829, of fever caught while superintending this work. Major Thomas Skinner, then a very young Lieutenant in the Ceylon Regiment, had also an important share in the construction of the road. He was afterwards to continue the policy of the Governor, and to become the "great Road-maker of Ceylon." But to Sir Edward Barnes must be given the chief credit of the work. The cost was naturally very great, and it is said that some one in England declared that the Governor deserved to be impeached for his extravagance in making the road. Sir Edward simply replied "Ceylon's future will determine that point." The after prosperity of Ceylon fully justified Sir Edward's expectation.

But when the great road had been opened, Sir Edward resolved to make it much more than a military convenience. He planned to make it serviceable to the island generally. With this object he encouraged, and even began, at his own expense, the cultivation of useful plants and the manufacture of commercial products. Much money was spent in

COFFEE PLANTATIONS.

A. D. 1829. Catholic Relief Bill passed.
" 1830. Death of George IV
" " Revolt and Independence of Belgium.

preparing indigo and sugar—but these manufactures had to be given up. Coffee was found more suited to the soil and climate of the hills. This valuable product, (as well as tea and cocoa) had been introduced or cultivated by the Dutch a hundred years before; but as they attempted to grow it in the lowlands near Negombo and Galle they were not successful. In 1824, Mr. George Bird opened the first coffee plantation (Sinnapitiya Estate) in Gampola, on land where in former times a Kandyan palace stood. Several other estates followed in the neighbourhood, including the Governor's plantation at Gangaruwa, near Peradeniya; and, to encourage cultivation, Sir Edward Barnes gave free grants of forest land to intending planters. In 1827, no less than 16,000 cwts. of coffee were exported from Ceylon.

NUWARA ELIYA

In the same year, Nuwara Eliya, six thousand feet above sea-level, became known to the English—some Officers having got there while hunting elephants. They were struck with the delightful climate and beauty of the place and reported their discovery to the Governor. Sir Edward Barnes at once had a road made to it, and houses were erected for himself, and for sick soldiers who required a cooler climate than that of Colombo or even Kandy. The Pavilion at Kandy, and Mount Lavinia House by the sea side, were also built by order of Sir Edward Barnes.

Sir ROBERT WILMOT HORTON became Governor in 1831, and progress continued to be made in Ceylon. In February, 1832, it was found profitable to start

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A. D. 1832. The Reform Bill passed.

a Mail-coach (the first of its kind in all Asia) between Colombo and Kandy. This was a sign of prosperity, because it showed that frequent and regular communication between the hills and the low country was now established. Other signs of prosperity appeared in the opening of a Savings Bank (1832); in the abolition of the *Rajakariya*, or compulsory labour for Government (1832); in the abolition of the Cinnamon monopoly, all persons being now made free to cultivate or trade in Cinnamon (1833); and in the permission given to Moors and Tamils to own houses and lands in the Fort and Pettah of Colombo (1832), a privilege which had been denied them by the Dutch. In 1832, the Government officials started the "Colombo Journal," the first newspaper in Ceylon; but as in it they criticised the actions of the Government in London very unfavourably, they were ordered to discontinue the journal. In 1834 the merchants in Colombo started the "Colombo Observer," which still continues to be issued. In the same year, a Commission was appointed to supervise the schools of the island and to promote education generally. Two years later the Colombo Academy (now the Royal College) was established.

But more important changes have yet to be noted. In 1833 the island was divided into five Provinces—the Western, Southern, Eastern, Northern, and Central—with a Government Agent over each. Two Councils—one for making laws, and the other for seeing that the laws were carried out—were formed at the same time. The latter, called the *Executive Council*, consisted of the Governor

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
1833 A.D.

A.D 1834. Sir Robert Peel Prime Minister.

and a few of the highest officials. The former, called the *Legislative Council* should have had nine official members (besides the Governor) and six unofficial members; that is, six members who were to speak and act on behalf of all the people in Ceylon who were not servants of the Government. Three of them were to represent British residents, and the remaining three the Burghers, Sinhalese, and Tamils, respectively. But strangely enough, Sir Robert Horton did not appoint unofficial members till some months after the official members had been appointed. There was a great outcry against the Governor on this account.

CHARTER OF JUSTICE 1833 A.D.

A Charter, granted in 1833, led to the establishment of Courts of Justice. A charter is a document granting certain powers, rights, or privileges. By authority of this *Charter of Justice*, the Governor established *District Courts* in various parts of the island. In these courts ordinary cases were tried; but the more important cases were tried before the *Supreme Court*, which had also the right to alter or confirm the decisions of any District Court.

A. D. 1837. Natal Founded by Dutch settlers.
,, 1838. The People's Charter.
,, 1839. Penny Postage established.

CHAPTER XLIII.

From 1837 to 1850 A. D.

THE Right Honourable J. A. STEWART MACKENZIE succeeded as Governor in 1837, a few months after the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of England; but he remained in the island for only three and a half years. He did his utmost to improve the condition of the native inhabitants of Ceylon. The tax on fish was taken away. Coffee planting was encouraged, and a lunatic asylum was built. Education had up to this time been left to the care of Christian missionaries mainly; but the Governor warmly interested himself in the matter, and established several Government schools. A few students were even sent to Calcutta to learn medicine. The missionaries and their work found in the Governor a valuable friend.

STEWART MACKENZIE.
1837—1841 A.D.

Governor Mackenzie was the first to take a genuine interest in the Veddahs. These neglected people lived a wretched life in the forests of the Central and Eastern provinces, and scarcely any one seems to have thought of doing them any good. The Governor heard of them, himself visited the districts where they lived, and succeeded in inducing a few Veddahs to attend schools and cultivate paddy. While on this journey he caught a fever which led to his early departure from the island.

THE VEDDAHS

In the first year of the Government of Sir COLIN

A. D. 1843. Free Church of Scotland Secession.
,, 1845-6. First Sikh War.

Campbell, the School Commission of 1834 was arranged upon a different plan and there began a steady increase in the number of schools and of pupils. A new Province—the North-Western—was formed in 1844, with its capital at Kurunegala; and at the end of the year slavery, which still lingered in the Kandyan provinces, was totally abolished by law. Police Courts were established in 1844, and Courts of Requests (for settling disputes regarding small sums of money) in 1845, leaving the District Courts free to attend to matters of larger consequence.

Colin Campbell
1841-47

Among the European residents and those natives of the island who understood, and to any extent adopted, European ways of thinking, there were many signs of increasing wealth and civilisation. The members of the Church of England had grown numerous enough to justify the formation of a Diocese separate from Madras, and Dr. James Chapman was appointed first Anglican Bishop of Colombo. Efforts were made to secure the construction of a railway to Kandy. Banks were established, and coffee planting was taken up with great enthusiasm. Nearly every European in Ceylon who had money bought land for the cultivation of coffee. Rich men from England and from India spent largely in this new venture, believing that the profits they would gain would make them doubly rich. In 1845 the rush for coffee-land was at its height. The result was quickly seen in the changed appearance of the hillsides round Kandy and in the neighbouring districts. Trim, orderly plantations took the place

Coffee Planting

A. D. 1846. Corn laws repealed.

of wild jungle; roads were made through inaccessible forests; comfortable bungalows were built; the sound of human voices prevailed over regions once given up to loneliness and silence.

But the first planters in Ceylon were not the experienced and careful men their successors have since become. They knew very little about the coffee tree or of the soil best suited for its cultivation. Large tracts of land were consequently bought and cleared for planting, and afterwards found to be quite useless for the purpose. Labour was scarce and very expensive, and few estates could obtain a sufficient number of labourers. In two years a disastrous change occurred. The failure of a large firm in England ruined many of those who had invested in coffee, and put an end to the remittances so freely sent to Ceylon. Most of those who had been so eager to acquire land now anxiously tried to get rid of it. Estates were sold for anything they would fetch in the market. Many estates were abandoned for want of a purchaser. But some planters held on, profited by the lessons they had learnt, and in a few years contrived to recover their position and to make Coffee the leading export of the island.

TORRINGTON
1847—1850 A.D.

LORD TORRINGTON, who succeeded Sir Colin Campbell in 1847, could do little to help the coffee-planters. Graver troubles were soon to occupy his attention. Beneath all the appearance of quiet and contentment, unsuspected save by one or two more far-seeing than others, there was considerable unrest among the native inhabitants of Ceylon. In 1848, several new taxes were imposed,—taxes on dogs, on guns, on

boats, the stamp tax, and the road tax. These were strongly resented by the natives for various reasons, and a rising (which, after all, scarcely deserves the name of "Rebellion") took place in Kandy, Kurunegala, and a few other places. The road tax was the most hateful of the new taxes. Every male in the island between eighteen and sixty years of age (except the Governor, the military, and certain others) was required to give six days' labour on the public roads, or to pay three shillings instead. The Kandyans did not care for roads, and thought (wrongly, no doubt) that the tax was for the benefit of the Europeans alone. They suspected also that the tax was a revival of the old Rajakariya which had been publicly abolished in 1832. The "Rebellion" began in Dambulla, where a number of people assembled under the leadership of Gongalagodde Banda, who pretended to be a descendant of King Raja Sinha. On the 28th July the mob reached Matale and plundered the town. Next morning they were met at Wariapola and driven back by a detachment of European and Malay soldiers. On the 30th July the Kandyans in Kurunegala were put to flight by a few Malays of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment. The district of Kandy was placed under martial law, and application was made to Madras for soldiers. In a week troops landed at Trincomalie and marched towards Kandy. But in less than three months the so-called "Rebellion" was at an end. So much excitement and confusion followed, however, that the

THE "REBELLION." 1848 A.D.

A. D. 1848. Revolution in France.

,, 1849. Rebellion in Hungary.

Parliament in England ordered an enquiry into the whole matter—with the result that in 1850 Lord Torrington resigned, and Sir James Emerson Tennent, the Colonial Secretary, was given an appointment out of Ceylon. Sir Emerson Tennent will be remembered as the author of several most valuable and interesting works on Ceylon.

CHAPTER XLIV.

From 1850 to 1865 A. D.

THESE troublous times of the "Rebellion" were followed by five years of inaction on the part of Government. SIR GEORGE ANDERSON did nothing in the way of public works. He explained that the expenditure had all these years been so heavy that he required to save as much money as he could. The railway had to wait, and the introduction of the telegraph system remained under consideration. This policy roused a feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction. The planters had by this time, grown into a large and important body, and in order to make their influence felt they formed themselves into an Association in 1854. Between this Association, which is now one of the most powerful societies in the island, and the Government of

ANDERSON
1850—1855 A. D.

A. D. 1853 Gladstone's first Budget.
,, 1854-6. Crimean War.

Sir George Anderson there were many violent disputes.

One important event of this period was that the Government put an end to its official connection with Buddhism. The famous Dalada or tooth-relic, was handed over to the Diva Nilame of the Maligawa, and the priests were told that thenceforth they were to manage their own affairs without the interference of Government.

When, in May 1855, Sir Henry Ward arrived in Ceylon as Governor, it was at once seen that more prosperous times were in store for the island. Progress was the watchword of the new Governor's policy. "The question," said he, "is not one of ease or convenience but of *life*. You must go on, or you must go back." The island did not go back. With an energy and spirit that stirred every one to admiration and imitation, Sir Henry Ward studied the needs of the country and supplied its most immediate wants. The Suspension Bridge at Gampola and the Iron Lattice Bridge at Katugastota; repairs to the Kirime and Urubokke dams in the Southern Province; the useful irrigation works at Batticaloa, by which rice crops were saved from destruction, and deserted regions were repeopled; telegraph communication opened between Galle and Colombo, and soon extended through Kandy and Manaar to India; penny postage established within the island; the Kandyan marriage law amended, and polyandry declared illegal, with the full consent of the Kandyans:—these were the principal benefits gained by Ceylon from Sir Henry Ward's beneficent rule. How real was the content-

WARD
1855—1860 A. D.

ment among the people may be judged from the fact that troops were sent from Ceylon to India to help the Indian Government in putting down the terrible revolt of 1857. There was no fear of revolt here, and no need to add to the handful of troops which were sufficient for all local purposes. "It is most gratifying to me," said the Governor, "to acknowledge, publicly, that my confidence has been repaid by the unexceptionable conduct of the entire population. No man can doubt the Queen's power to vindicate her authority; and a a few weeks will show the fate of those who have braved it in the presidency of Bengal. But it will be a triumph far more in accordance with Her Majesty's heart, to find the ties between the people and the Crown so strongly cemented in Ceylon, by kindly feelings, and mutual benefits, that even the appearance of political discontent has been avoided."

CEYLONESE LOYALTY IN 1857 A. D.

But the railway question was still unsettled. Public meetings were held in Kandy and Colombo, and angry discussions on this subject were carried on in the newspapers. On the 3rd August 1858 the first sod of the proposed railway to Kandy was turned. A Company had undertaken the construction of the line, and to meet expenses, the Governor imposed a duty on all exports from Ceylon. As the Northern and Eastern Provinces would be very little benefited by the railway to Kandy, a steamer was got out to make regular coasting trips round the island. But meanwhile disputes arose regarding the estimated cost of

RAILWAY TO KANDY.

A. D. 1858 Jews admitted to British Parliament.

the railway, and the work was put off, much to the annoyance of the coffee planters and the public generally.

The people of Ceylon were quick to show their appreciation of Sir Henry Ward's splendid services to the island, in spite of occasional instances in which he fell short of their expectations. Nearly four thousand persons signed a petition to the Queen, asking that he might be reappointed Governor when his term of office came to an end, and that a special grant of £3,000 a year should be paid to him in addition to his salary. The prayer could not be granted for many reasons, and in June 1860 Sir Henry Ward left Ceylon to be Governor of Madras. He died there of cholera in the August following.

MacCarthy
1860—1863 A. D.

The policy of Sir Charles Justin MacCarthy was similar to that of Sir George Anderson. No great public works were undertaken. Roads were neglected and many of them became impassable, while the money that might have been spent on them was carefully hoarded. But land for planting purposes continued to be sold. The trade of the country had revived from the depression it suffered from 1845. Sinhalese and Tamil newspapers began to be published. We see therefore that progress continued to be made in spite of the inactivity of Government. In at least one matter, however, the Government had to act decisively. The costly agreement made with the Railway company was cancelled, and the construction of the line to Kandy was en-

A. D 1860 Victor Emmanuel King of Italy.
„ 1861 American Civil War.

trusted to a contractor. By 1864, the line had been taken over thirty miles, and the first special train was run in that year to convey a distinguished visitor, the Duke of Brabant (now King of Belgium) to Ambepusse.

O'BRIEN
LIEUT-GOVERNOR.
1863-1866 A.D.

Sir Charles MacCarthy left Ceylon in December 1863 owing to ill-heath, and till March 1865 Major-General O'Brien, the Lieutenant-Governor, was in authority. Warm discussions took place at this time in the Legislative Council, the principal subject being the military expenditure of the island. For many years Ceylon was compelled to pay annually from its revenues a large sum of money for the troops stationed here. These payments became larger and larger, though the number of troops was gradually reduced. The Legislative Council had no control over the expenditure of this money, and the amount of each year's payment was fixed by the Secretary of State in London, to whom the Governor was directly responsible. The unofficial members argued that the Council, not the Secretary of State, should decide how much should be paid on account of the military each year. They thought the present charges excessive, and that important public works in the island were neglected because no money was left to pay for them. They insisted that the control of the military expenditure should be in their hands just as the other expenditure was. These claims the Secretary of State would not allow. The unofficials thought that they could do no good by remaining in Council. They were fewer in number than the official members who voted on the

side of the Government. Consequently, in November, 1864, the six unofficials (Messrs. C. A. Lorenz, George Wall, W. Thompson, John Capper, James Alwis, and J. H. Eaton) resigned their seats rather than by their presence in Council appear to sanction what they thought wrong and harmful to the interests of the island.

CEYLON LEAGUE
1865 A.D.

This action of the unofficial members was fully supported by public opinion in Ceylon: so much so, that a society, named the Ceylon League was formed in May, 1865, to continue the agitation for reforming the Legislative Council. But in three years the League was broken up, from the want of union among its members, and because it was seen that reform was firmly opposed by the Secretary of State.

CHAPTER XLV.

From 1865 to 1877 A.D.

ROBINSON.
1865-1872 A.D.

DURING the Government of Sir HERCULES ROBINSON, attention was again paid to the material improvement of the country. The agitation for a freer Legislative Council continued, but nothing was gained, and the League was dissolved in 1868. The railway to Kandy was opened for traffic in August 1867, and from the first it proved so successful that its extension to Nawalapitiya, and from Colombo along the sea-coast

A.D. 1866. North Germany united under Prussia.
,, 1868. Gladstone Prime Minister.

to Moratuwa, was strongly pressed upon the Government. The former extension was decided upon before the Governor left Ceylon. The export duties imposed by Sir Henry Ward were discontinued. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 largely increased the trade of Ceylon, and merchants pointed out the necessity for better harbour accomodation at Colombo. There was some hesitation whether Galle or Colombo should have the new harbour works, but the decision was made in favour of the latter, and in 1871 an Engineer was appointed to report on the matter. In March, the same year, the first general census of the island was taken. It was found that there were 2,405,287 inhabitants in all,—the Western Province, the largest in population, having six and a half times as many as the Eastern, the last in this respect. Colombo had 100,000 inhabitants, nearly three times as many as Galle the next town. Colombo and Kandy were made Municipalities in 1865, and given certain powers of self-government, the privilege being extended to Galle in the following year. The foundation stone of the Colombo Municipal Town Hall was laid by the Duke of Edinburgh who visited Ceylon in 1870.

EDUCATION.

In 1867 there were excited debates regarding Education. The number of schools and pupils had increased, and the Governor made great alterations in the existing system. The School Commission was abolished, and a Director of Public Instruction appointed, with full power to control the Education of the Colony. Grants of money were paid to schools not connected with Government, according to the progress shown at the

A. D. 1869 Irish Church disestablished
,, 1870 War declared by France against Prussia.

annual examinations. The more advanced pupils were no longer prepared for the Calcutta University Examinations, but a Scholarship was offered each year sufficient to pay for three years' education at Oxford or Cambridge. All these changes proved very beneficial. But Sir Hercules Robinson went further. The suffering caused by the want of properly trained medical men in outlying districts decided him to establish in Colombo a Medical School (1870) for which Dr. James Loos, a member of the Government Medical Service, had pleaded twenty years before, and which Dr. Elliott, the Principal Civil Medical Officer of the Island, had later on pointed out to be an urgent necessity. Nor was the ancient Sinhalese and Pali Literature of island neglected. The Honourable James Alwis was appointed (1869) to collect and report upon such manuscripts as could be found.

From January, 1872, new silver and copper coins were brought into use, and accounts were kept in rupees and cents instead of in pounds, shillings and pence.

It will thus be seen that Sir Hercules Robinson's rule was a busy one, and that very much was done by him to advance the interests of the island. His successor the Right Honourable Sir William H. Gregory was equally active in promoting the material improvement of Ceylon, while his genuine sympathy with the different races, classes, and creeds, made him one of the most popular Governors of Ceylon. He himself has left it on record that the great ambition and object of his life was to be

GREGORY
1872-1877 A.D.

A. D. 1876. Bulgarian massacres.

Governor of Ceylon, and when he was appointed to that office he proved himself entirely worthy of the trust. In his time occurred the visit of the Prince of Wales who was welcomed in all parts of the island with such enthusiastic loyalty as left no doubt regarding the feelings of the people. At the Audience Hall, Kandy, in December, 1875, the Prince conferred on the Governor the honour of Knighthood, and returning to Colombo laid the first stone of the Breakwater. Sir William Gregory looked upon the improvement of the Colombo Harbour as the great work of his rule. But his other acts deserve equal praise. The Railway was opened to Panadure and to Nawalapitiya, while its extension to Matale and to Kalutara was arranged for, and great efforts were made to secure the extension of the line from Nawalapitiya to Haputale. In 1873, a new province—the North-Central—was formed, with Anuradhapura as its capital. We have seen how hundreds of years

ANURADHAPURA.

ago Anuradhapura was the centre of a well-populated and flourishing district. But, while Kandy and the coast towns rose in importance, its tanks were gradually neglected and left to decay, its temples and gardens were overrun with weed and jungle. The Governor's intention in creating a new province was to clear the country, to rebuild or repair the tanks, and to improve the condition of the few people who still lived there. In this way new settlers would be attracted to the place. The wisdom of the attempt has been fully proved. A Museum at Colombo, and the water works at

A. D. 1877. The Queen proclaimed Empress of India.
,, 1878. The Berlin Congress.
,, 1879. Zulu and Afghan Wars.

Kandy, were other important benefits; and "new products." (such as tea, cinchona, cocoa, rubber and Liberian coffee) were encouraged in every way; for there were signs that all was not well with the coffee industry. What was known as "leaf disease" had begun to attack the trees and much anxiety was felt.

CHAPTER XLVI.

From 1877 to 1899.

THE failure of the coffee crops took place towards the end of Sir JAMES ROBERT LONGDEN'S rule. The export of Ceylon coffee in the two years 1880—1882 was over a million cwts.: in the next two years it fell to half that quantity. The consequence was that many planters were ruined, many estates had to be abandoned, and everywhere people who were dependent on the coffee industry for employment suffered severely. With an energy and resolution that have been deservedly admired, the planters, rather than give way, turned to the new products which had here and there been cultivated to some slight extent.

LONGDEN
1877-1883 A.D.

There are but few other important events to record in Sir James Longden's administration. The Church of England and the Presbyterian Church in Ceylon were disestablished in 1881; that is, their clergy were not in future to be appointed by Government, or paid from the public revenues. In 1881 a Volunteer Corps

was enrolled with the Prince of Wales as Honorary Colonel. An ordinance was passed in 1882 for the establishment of Postal Savings Banks. The Census of 1881 gave a total population for the island of 2,759,738 persons, an increase of 354,451 from 1871.

Gordon. 1883—1890 A.D.

Sir ARTHUR H. GORDON (now Lord Stanmore) arrived in December 1883, and in his first address to the Legislative Council announced a reduction in the military contribution. The following May the Oriental Bank Corporation, which had existed in Ceylon since 1845, suspended payment, and this brought much trouble and distress to the island, especially as the blow came so soon after the failure of the coffee crops. Merchants and planters were threatened with ruin, and others bitterly foresaw the loss of their hard-earned savings. But Sir Arthur Gordon promptly announced that the Government would give silver for the notes issued by the Bank, and by this courageous and statesmanlike act he prevented much suffering especially among the poorer classes. Since that time our currency notes have been in the name of the Government and not in the name of any Bank.

Two new Provinces were created—the Province of Uva (capital, Badulla) in 1886, and the Province of Sabaragamuwa (capital, Ratnapura) in 1889. Irrigation works were vigorously attended to, the most important being the repairs to the Kalawewá tank and its connected canal, the Yodiella. The extension of the Railway to Bentota, and to Haputale was sanctioned, and the extension to Galle and Matara was discussed.

A. D. 1881. Death of Lord Beaconsfield.

„ 1882. Bombardment of Alexandria.

In 1887 the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen was celebrated in all parts of the island. In 1889, two unofficial members, one to represent the Kandyans, and the other the Muhammadans, were added to the Legislative Council.

HAVELOCK 1890—1896 A.D.

Sir ARTHUR ELIBANK HAVELOCK completed the Railway extensions to Bandarawela and Matara, and opened a branch line to Kurunegala. In 1893 he established a Technical School in Colombo where students are now trained for the mechanical branches of the public service. But the most important event of his rule was the abolition in 1892 of the paddy tax, which, though it existed from time immemorial, was felt to be a severe hardship by the village cultivator. The repeal of this tax was, like the establishment of the Technical School, mainly due to the efforts of Mr. George Wall, one of the unofficials who resigned in 1864. The census of 1891 showed that the population of Ceylon had increased to 3,007,789

RIDGEWAY 1896 A.D.

Sir JOSEPH WEST RIDGEWAY has governed Ceylon from 1896, and has shown a liberal and progressive spirit in the measures he has adopted. Much of his work has been in the direction of re-arranging and establishing on a firmer basis the institutions which he found on his arrival. The Civil Service and the Clerical Service, the Irrigation Department, the Survey Department, and the Technical School bear witness to his keen oversight and desire for improvement. But his most

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A.D. 1885. Death of General Gordon at Khartum.

" 1886. Home Rule Bill introduced.

important public work has been the beginning of the Railway to Jaffna and to the Kelani Valley.

More than once has Sir West Ridgeway spoken in the highest terms of the loyalty of the Ceylonese ; and in concluding this sketch of our Island's history we may well consider if indeed we have not cause to be loyal. Under British rule we enjoy almost every advantage which an Englishman enjoys in England. We have peace, protection of person and property, complete freedom, and equal laws. We have numerous schools which prepare us for our work in life. Every profession is open to us, every trade and occupation is free to all. Natives of Ceylon have risen to very high positions in the service of Government, and have been rewarded with the favour of the Queen. The post, the telegraph, and the steamer have brought us into communication with every part of the world beyond our shores. The literature of Britain, the arts and sciences, the high ideals of Christian life and thought, and every civilising influence that makes for peace. comfort, and happiness, have been placed within our reach. We belong to an Empire vast in extent, rich in noble traditions, powerful beyond its rivals, and governed, under the Queen, by statesmen who are not only prompt to advance its best interests, but sincerely anxious to promote the welfare of all its members. It will be our own fault if we do not so use the advantages we have as to prove that we are not unworthy of them.

British Governors.

		From	A.D.
1.	The Hon. the Governor of Madras in Council	Feb.	1796
2.	The Hon. Frederick North (*Earl of Guildford*)	Oct.	1798
3.	Lieut.-General Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland	July,	1805
4.	General Sir Robert Brownrigg, *Bart.* ...	March,	1812
5.	Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Edward Paget	Feb.	1822
6.	Lieut.-General Sir Edward Barnes ...	Jan.	1824
7.	The Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, *Bart.*	Oct.	1831
8.	The Rt. Hon. James Alexander Stewart Mackenzie	Nov	1837
9.	Lieut.-General Sir Colin Campbell ...	April,	1841
10.	The Rt. Hon. the Viscount Torrington ...	May,	1847
11.	Sir George William Anderson	Nov.	1850
12.	Sir Henry George Ward	May,	1855
13.	Sir Charles Justin MacCarthy	Aug.	1860
	Major-General Terence O'Brien. administering the Government	Dec.	1863
14.	Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson ...	May,	1865
15.	The Rt. Hon. Sir William Henry Gregory	March,	1872
16.	Sir James Robert Longden	Sept.	1877
17.	The Hon. Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon (*Lord Stanmore*)	Dec.	1883
18.	Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock	May,	1890
19.	The Rt Hon. Sir Joseph West Ridgeway ...	March,	1896

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